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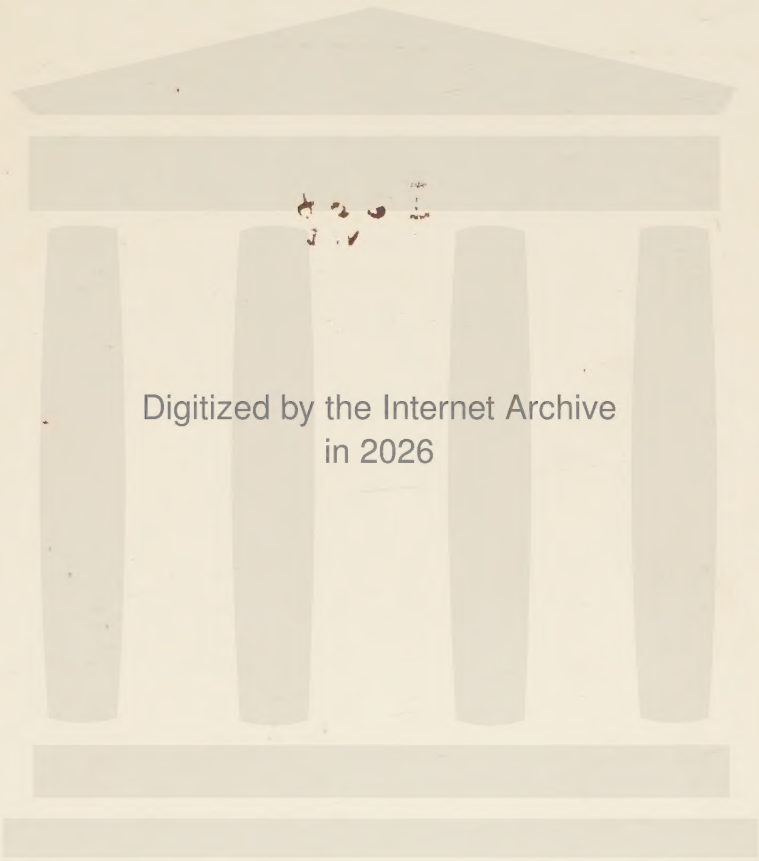

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ANCIENT RECORDS

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JAMES HENRY BREASTED

FIRST SERIES
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Edited by DANIEL DAVID LUCKENBILL

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OF
ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

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ANCIENT RECORDS
OF
ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

By

DANIEL DAVID LUCKENBILL, PH.D.

Professor of the Semitic Languages and Literatures
in the University of Chicago

VOLUME I

HISTORICAL RECORDS OF ASSYRIA

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO SARGON

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

These two volumes, containing a complete English version of the historical records of ancient Assyria, represent the resumption of a long-interrupted plan for the creation of a library of the historical documents of the ancient Near East in English, begun over thirty years ago. The present writer, returning in 1895 from oriental studies in Europe and the Near East, found himself entirely without the tools and instrumentalities for teaching the ancient cultures he was supposed to represent, especially the Egyptian. The University of Chicago was in 1895 the first and at that time the only university in America to offer studies in Egyptian language and civilization. The first task was an obvious one: to make the historical documents of ancient Egypt accessible in English. The task consumed ten years. After it had been going on for some years, the late President William R. Harper proposed to the writer that the volumes of the Egyptian records be incorporated in a comprehensive series which should include the entire ancient Near East. This proposal was adopted and in October, 1905, the project was announced in the publications of the University of Chicago Press. It was to be called "Ancient Records," to appear in a series of twenty-three volumes under the general editorship of President William R. Harper. It was to be divided into three sections: six volumes of Assyrian records to be edited by the late Professor Robert Francis Harper; five volumes of Palestinian records under the editorship of President Harper himself; and twelve volumes of Egyptian sources to be edited and translated by the present writer.

In 1906 and 1907 the historical documents of Egypt from

the earliest times to the loss of Egyptian independence after the Persian conquest in 525 B.C., a period of about twenty-five hundred years, were published in five volumes under the title *Ancient Records of Egypt.*[1] The public demand for historical documents of this kind is necessarily limited, and confined chiefly to libraries. Their publication therefore requires a heavy subsidy. After the lamented death of President Harper early in 1906, the project languished. Just before the outbreak of the world-war, however, we who had long and deeply regretted the discontinuance of the undertaking were casting about for means to revive it. Like so many other scientific projects, these efforts at revival were submerged in the Great War.

In the spring of 1919 the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., enabled us to organize and begin the work of the Oriental Institute. Following closely upon the conclusion of the war, therefore, our interests were absorbed in the development of our new Institute which was to mobilize the old Department of Oriental Languages and transform it into the investigating staff of a research laboratory. Prominent in its scientific program, as we desired to see it develop, was the compilation of an Assyrian-Babylonian Dictionary based for the first time on *all* of the known cuneiform documents. It was placed under the able editorship of Professor D. D. Luckenbill. The translation of the historical documents of Assyria into English for incorporation into the Assyrian Dictionary has made the resumption of the "Ancient Records" project an obvious step, while the publication fund of the Oriental Institute has been able to furnish the needed subvention.

[1] *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest.* Collected, edited, and translated by James Henry Breasted. Vol. I, *The First to the Seventeenth Dynasties;* Vol. II, *The Eighteenth Dynasty;* Vol. III, *The Nineteenth Dynasty;* Vol. IV, *The Twentieth to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasties;* Vol. V, *Indices.* University of Chicago Press, 1906–7.

It is with the greatest gratification, therefore, that after a lapse of twenty years since the first volume appeared, we find that the resources of the Oriental Institute have made possible the resumption of the plan for making the historical records of the ancient Near East available in English. The continuation of the entire series has been adopted as a part of the approved program of the Institute, and the production and publication of the additional volumes will be financially provided for in its future budget. We venture to hope that these two volumes comprising the *Ancient Records of Assyria*, presenting for the first time in a single compact edition the entire body of the Assyrian historical records in a Western language, may form not only a monument to the careful scholarship of Professor Luckenbill, but also a valuable contribution to historical knowledge.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
July 3, 1926

PREFACE

Since the Director of the Oriental Institute has been so kind as to sketch, in an Editor's Foreword, the history of the University of Chicago's efforts to create a library of English translations of the documents which have survived from the ancient Near East, and has indicated the circumstances which have made possible the resumption of the long-interrupted plan to publish the *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, there rests upon the author but one prefatory duty—the pleasant duty of acknowledging the part others have had in furthering his work.

To Professor Breasted for his untiring efforts in behalf of this and other "Assyriological" projects of the Oriental Institute; to Dr. Geers for his patience in performing the drudgery of compiling the Bibliography, the List of Abbreviations, and the Index of Proper Names, and for lightening my labors in many other ways; and to the keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, Dr. Hall, and his assistants, Messrs. Smith and Gadd, for their unfailing courtesy and generous help during the months I was engaged in the work of collating the published texts with those originals which are preserved in the British Museum—to these men I owe much. I ask them to accept this word of deepest gratitude.

D. D. L.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. In the rapidly moving modern world our historical interests, like all of our interests—like the styles of our clothes—change from year to year, from decade to decade. To the alarm of the jingo politician and the distress of the members of many "patriotic" societies, it has been discovered that our school histories have undergone, or are undergoing, a complete metamorphosis. History is not history any more. Of course, these people are not aware of the fact that the chief interest of the historian is no longer in battles and sieges, in the addresses of presidents and the orations of statesmen, in dynasties and royal family-trees, no, not even in constitutions, written or unwritten.

2. But even the student who is genuinely interested in history has some difficulty in keeping up with the times. Political history and constitutional history have been compelled to yield much of the space they once occupied to what may be called the social and the economic, or the social-economic, interpretation of history. And there are not wanting enthusiasts who would have us view history largely, if not exclusively, in the light of man's geographical environment. Then again, the evolutionary trend of all modern learning is compelling the historian not only to trace the development of this or that institution through the period in which he is immediately interested, but to search for its origins in some earlier historical stage of culture. And last of all, after having listened attentively to the sociologist, the political economist, and the geographer, the historian has been compelled to call in the archaeologist for consultation.

We are no longer satisfied with tracing the career of man through the five thousand years of "written" history, but are pushing back, in our search for origins, into the long ages of prehistory, the period before mankind had discovered, in the written word, the means of perpetuating the memory of heroic achievement and pious deed. After the appearance of the first volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, it is no longer necessary to spend time in pointing out the strategic importance of the study of the ancient oriental civilizations —those of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates valleys—in our endeavor to bridge the gap between prehistory and the cultures of ancient Greece and Rome, into which our western civilization strikes its roots.

3. Writing a history of ancient Egypt, Babylonia, or Assyria which shall conform to the latest canons of historical science is one thing; translating and editing the records which are to be used by the critical historian is another. It does not take much time for the student of the written records left us by the ancient Egyptians, Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians to discover that those responsible for these records were not possessed of the prophetic vision which would have enabled them to foresee the demands to be made upon them by the historians of the twentieth century A.D. The things they thought worth recording were clearly defined. The Egyptian pharaoh and the Assyrian king regarded themselves as the viceroys of the god upon earth. To rule their subjects, to extend their sway to the farthest ends of the earth, and, in return for the power and the victories their gods had vouchsafed unto them, to build temples and maintain their cults, these were the tasks of kings; these were the deeds worth recording.

4. In Egypt most of the records were engraved upon steles, obelisks, and temple walls; in Babylonia and Assyria, upon memorial tablets, prisms and cylinders of clay or

alabaster, upon obelisks and steles, or upon the walls of palaces and temples. From the Egyptian side we have one very important addition to these royal documents, namely, the biographies of the nobles, inscribed upon the walls of their tombs. But these biographies, while of the utmost importance to the modern historian, for the light they throw upon the political and social-economic development of Egypt, were intended primarily for the eye of the judges of the lower world. In the early period of the history of the Tigris-Euphrates civilization we find the vassal king or viceroy flattering his overlord, and, incidentally, perpetuating the memory of his own name, by dedicating vases and other objects to the god, "for the life of So-and-So, his lord, and for his own life." But in later Assyria the king was the state; and all public acts, whether military or otherwise, whether performed by the king in person or through one of his generals or officials, were recorded as the achievements or pious deeds of the king alone. One thing only has kept the names of many a noble and official of the Assyrian state from being forgotten, the fact that Assyrian chronology, from beginning to end, employed the system of *limmus* or eponymous years. If the king's reign was long enough, each of the high officials of the court and the governors of the provinces would, in his proper turn, have a year named for him. The accounts of the digging of canals, the fortification of cities, the building of temples and palaces, and, above all, of the military campaigns and hunting expeditions of the kings must receive the lion's share of the space to be allotted to any collection of ancient records of Assyria and Babylonia, simply because these were the things the ancients considered most worthy of remembrance and took measures to see that they would be remembered. Furthermore, these documents furnish the only means for arranging and studying the events in the life of the people of the ancient world in their chronological sequence,

and surely no one would yet think of dispensing with such an arrangement. After all, while we admit that the political side of the history of different civilizations has been, and may still be, overemphasized, nevertheless we have not yet begun to write the history of cultures which have had no political life.

5. However, the annals of the kings and their building inscriptions (in Assyria these were almost always combined into one document) are not the only sources at our disposal for the study of the history, the life, of the ancient inhabitants of the lower valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, the people whom we know as Sumerians, Akkadians, Babylonians, and Assyrians. Owing to the fact that the Sumerians, perhaps before the middle of the fourth millennium B.C., hit upon clay as a suitable material on which to draw in rude outlines the pictures which formed their earliest written records, we have at our disposal today an enormous number of written documents illustrating every phase of their life, as well as that of their successors. The cuneiform script, impressed upon clay tablets, comes as close to being imperishable as any writing we can conceive of. Thousands of cuneiform documents have outlived the *monumentum acre perennius* and records "graven in the rock with an iron pen and lead." The writing material was cheap, which may account in part for the fact that the ancient Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians seemed unwilling to transact even the smallest item of business without recourse to the written document. Systematized accounts of the income and expenditure of the palace and the temple, marriage and adoption contracts, records of the settlement of estates, leases of houses or lands, deeds and mortgages, promises to repay loans, with or without interest, receipts—business and legal records of all kinds —these, together with the law codes from Babylonia and Assyria, furnish all the materials which the most ardent

exponent of the social-economic interpretation of history could hope for.

6. The letters, written in the cuneiform, which passed between the kings and their officials, between the kings of different countries, or between private individuals, are well represented in the collections in the museums of Europe and America and add many an important detail to the political as well as to the social and economic phases of ancient oriental history.

7. The more distinctly literary remains of this civilization are in large measure religious. On the one hand, we have myths, legends, and epics; on the other, hymns, prayers, lamentations, liturgies, and rituals. Closely related to these groups are a few survivals of speculative, or wisdom, literature, a category apparently much less familiar to the Sumerian and eastern Semites than to the Egyptians and the Hebrews. This has seemed strange to some students of the early civilizations, but the explanation is not hard to find. The ancient Egyptian and Hebrew sages found society corrupt and the physical universe cruel and relentless. Suffering seemed to be the lot of humankind, more particularly of the just and righteous man. To some death as release seemed the only solution; to others a gleam of hope lay in a new order to be ushered in on earth by god himself or his representative. To humor the mighty and to keep an eye on your neighbor would help in bringing you through this vale of tears without too much inconvenience.

8. The Babylonian, on the other hand, seemed to have been convinced that the universe could be understood and mastered. Now it is true that much of what he regarded as mastery through knowledge was nothing more than a highly refined magic, but nevertheless he did acquire, through patient observation, a remarkable knowledge of the stars; of plants, drugs, and stones; of diseases and their cures. The

lot of the common man in Babylonia was much less oppressive than that of the peasant serf in Egypt. This was due, in large measure, to the fact that the Babylonian wise man, who was also the priest, seemed able, all through Babylonian and Assyrian history, to instil the "fear of god" in the hearts of the ruling classes. The Egyptian, with his firm belief in a blessed hereafter, was probably ready to endure many hardships in this life in the hope of future felicity. The Babylonian, however, was just as certain that the future existence was anything but desirable, and that any happiness which was to come to him must come in this life. And he set about to get it.

9. It has seemed to the translator that the written records of the Assyrians and Babylonians which have survived fall quite naturally into fairly distinct groups, and that a collection of these documents which would be of most use to the historian and student of ancient civilization might be gathered into the following volumes of "Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia": Volumes I and II, *Assyrian Historical Inscriptions* (including the building inscriptions); Volume III, *Babylonian Historical Inscriptions;* Volume IV, *Ancient Law and Business* (based on the law codes and selected business and legal documents from all periods of Assyrian and Babylonian history); Volume V, *Literary and Religious Texts;* and Volume VI, *Letters, Official and Private.*

10. The earliest records which we have from Assyria are dedicatory inscriptions. This or that temple had been built or repaired, a vase or inscribed tablet had been presented to the god, by So-and-So, for his life and for the life, or welfare, of his city. This way of doing is distinctly Sumerian—indeed, the excavations at Assur (Kalat-Sherkat) have shown a preponderating Sumerian influence in the earliest stages of the Assyrian culture. But while the Sumerian and Babylonian rulers studiously refused to allow anything except their pious

deeds to appear in the dedicatory inscriptions, the Assyrian rulers early began to add accounts of their military exploits, and occasionally a detail or two of their domestic policy. In the course of time these additions came to form the bulk of the inscription, an address to the god, or gods, serving as an introduction, and a brief account of the building or rebuilding of some city wall, palace, or temple forming the conclusion. The record of the king's military achievements also evolves from a stage of more or less general statements to detailed accounts of events as they occurred year by year during the reign. In other words, we have royal annals. However, a variant form also developed, in which the king's achievements were not recorded by years, but by "campaigns." In most cases it is possible to date the campaigns from other sources. It looks, therefore, as if there might be fairly smooth sailing for the political historian. But it is not so. One soon discovers that the accurate portrayal of events as they took place, year by year during the king's reign, was not the guiding motive of the royal scribes. At times the different campaigns seem to have been shifted about without any apparent reason, but more often it is clear that royal vanity demanded playing fast and loose with historical accuracy. This matter has been discussed so ably and thoroughly by Professor Olmstead in his *Assyrian Historiography* that it is not necessary to elaborate here. Only on one point should a word be said.

11. It would, no doubt, be desirable to arrange our documents in chronological sequence. So, for example, the account of the "first campaign" as it was written down soon after the event, then the record including the account of campaigns one and two, again as written down soon after the second campaign, and so on to the end. We should thus be able to sift out the wheat from the chaff as we read along, to detect many a departure from accuracy made in the interests of the royal vanity already referred to, in a word, to form our

picture of a given reign from the oldest records of the events of that reign. But after a long struggle it was decided that it would be better, in the cases where we have a succession of documents, to place the final edition at the head of the list, with the earlier versions, arranged chronologically, following. It seems easier to make a few erasures and transpositions in a finished picture than to build up that picture piece by piece.

12. Except in the case of the documents from the reign of Assurbanipal, an attempt has been made to include in this volume all of the records which fall into the group of historical and building inscriptions.[1] Assurbanipal kept entirely too many scribes busy writing epigraphs for reliefs which were never carved upon palace walls. One or two such epigraphs telling how the king "joyfully entered Nineveh," with the head of Teumman, king of Elam, carried before him, are enough for historical purposes. But no document of historical importance has been omitted intentionally. It is hoped that no serious oversight has occurred.

13. The translations here given have been made from the careful revisions of the printed texts prepared as a basis for the compilation of a new Assyrian dictionary. The writer spent three months in the British Museum collating the published texts with the originals. The result of this work will be seen in not a few places in this volume. But to avoid crowding the pages with footnotes containing textual and philological discussions, which would have meaning only to the Assyriologist, all such matters have been transferred to the pages of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (Vol. XLIII). For the same reason it seemed best to exclude references to practically all discussions and previous translations of the documents here collected. The selected Bibliography given at the end of the volume contains the titles of all the

[1] Which does not mean that every published brick inscription, for example, is included.

important works consulted. It is needless to add that the translator is deeply indebted to all who have labored in the field of Assyriology. From their translations he has taken many a phrase, many a line.

14. The writer is aware that there will be considerable criticism of his transcription of the Assyrian proper names. But there seems no valid reason for using diacritical marks and combinations of consonants which serve only to bewilder the reader who does not happen to be a Semitic philologist. Why, for example, have the name of the famous Babylonian lawgiver appear as Khammurabi when one knows that the majority of readers will proceed to pronounce it Cammurabi? To render the Semitic *ḳ* by *q* is even more absurd, for the English language uses *q* only in combination with *u*, the two being almost always pronounced *kw*. In the Index of Proper Names there will be given, in transliteration, the more important variant renderings of the proper names in the Assyrian texts, as well as such identifications with classical, biblical, and modern names as the writer regards as fairly certain.

15. One other criticism may perhaps be forestalled by the statement that since a discussion of Assyrian chronology cannot be carried on without involving Babylonian chronology at every step, it has been thought best to reserve this matter for the volume of Babylonian historical texts (Vol. III). The Babylonians were very fond of compiling lists of kings and of writing chronicles involving the history of Assyria and Elam as well as their own, and it is on these lists and chronicles that the Assyrian chronology as well as Babylonian history must largely be based. In chapter xv of Volume II are given fragments of Assyrian kings' and *limmu* lists and a table of Assyrian kings. This latter is based upon that of Weidner, published in Meissner's *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, 450 f. But the writer sees no reason whatever for putting dates, like

1450–1431, opposite certain names, even if a footnote is appended to explain that they are only *approximativ*. For the events or reigns before 911 B.C. the dates are approximate and depend largely upon synchronisms with happenings in Egyptian and Babylonian history. The mention of an eclipse of the sun in the month of *Simânu* in the *limmu* of Bur-Sagale gives us an astronomically fixed date for this eponymy, namely, 763 B.C., and this in turn fixes the other dates in the Assyrian chronology from 911 B.C. to the end.

16. Finally, in view of the wordiness of the Assyrian historical documents the translator has been compelled to pare to the quick his introductions to, and notes on, the texts. The words found in brackets in the translations have been supplied—often from parallel or similar passages. Broken brackets are employed where one or more characters of the word have been preserved. Where a number of words have been inclosed by a bracket and a broken bracket, the words up to, or after, the one carrying the broken bracket are conjectural. In parentheses are given literal or variant translations, and such additional words as are required by the difference of idiom to bring out the sense.

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CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY RULERS; FROM ITITI TO ADAD-NIRÂRI I

I. ITITI

17. What seems to be the earliest inscription from Assur is found on a limestone slab erected in honor of the goddess Ishtar, by Ititi, son of Iakulaba. Like the names of Ushpia and Kikia, neither the name of the son nor that of the father seems to be Semitic or Sumerian. It has been suggested that Ushpia and Kikia were of Mitannian origin, but in view of certain personal names found in the "Cappadocian" tablets, this is now being questioned.[1] It is possible that these rulers belong to the time of the Gutium dynasty, when twenty kings, bearing ungodly names, ruled the Tigris-Euphrates Valley for one hundred and twenty-five years and forty days.[2] The text of this inscription is published in *KAH*, II, No. 1; photograph in *AIT*, Plate 64*a*, *b*.

18. Ititi, the ruler,[3] son of Iakulaba, with fervent prayer, to Ishtar has erected (this stele).

II. ZARIKU

19. The first datable inscription is that of Zariku, who ruled Assur under Bur-Sin, the third king of the Third Ur Dynasty, twenty-third century B.C. (text, *KAH*, II, No. 2; photograph *AIT*, Plate 64*c*).

20. The temple of Bêlat-ekallim, his lady, for the life of Bur-Sin, the mighty, king of Ur and king of the four quarters (of the world), Zariku, viceroy of Assur,[4] his servant, for his life, has built.

[1] Cf. Preface to *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part I.

[2] Cf. *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, II, 25.

[3] See *ZA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 52, n. 2.

[4] Written Ashir, the usual spelling in these early Assyrian texts of the name both of the god and the city-state. Both are often written without the determinative.

III. DADUM

21. Of uncertain date, but written in archaic characters, is the inscription on a duck weight presented by Dadum, son of Ibik-Adad, king of Tupliash, a small border state to the east of the lower Tigris (text, *KAH*, II, No. 3).

22. Dadum, son of Ibik-Adad, king of Tupliash, for (*possibly*, to) Inibshina, his daughter, has presented (this).

IV. SHALIM-AHUM

23. In the *MDOG*, No. 44, p. 30, the German excavator of Kalat-Sherkat, Dr. Andrae, reported the discovery of part of a block of alabaster inscribed with archaic characters and probably from Shalim-ahum's reign. Only the first six of the twenty-four lines which have been preserved were given in transliteration and translation. The text has not been published.

24. [Shalim[1]-ahum, viceroy of Assyria (Assur), son of Puzur-Ashir, viceroy of Assyria.

V. ILU-SHUMA

25. A catch line at the end of a late version of a Babylonian chronicle,[1] reading "Ilu-shuma, king of Assyria, against Suabu," gives us another synchronism, since the Suabu referred to is clearly Sumu-abum, the first king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, twenty-second century B.C. The following inscription of Ilu-shuma, the text of which is found in *KAH*, II, No. 4, is from a "stone object"—the German editor called it a "duck weight"—now in the British Museum (No. 115,-690). To the left of ll. 6–8 are three more, but totally illegible, lines.

26. Ilu-shuma, viceroy of Assyria,[2] beloved of Assur[3] and Ishtar, son of Shalim-ahum, viceroy of Assyria,[2] for Ishtar, his lady, for his life, has built (this) temple.

VI. IRISHUM

27. Irishum, son of Ilu-shuma, is frequently mentioned by the later Assyrians as an early temple-builder. A brick inscription of his from Kalat-Sherkat was published in IR, 6, No. 2, but many of its

[1] See King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, I, 115 ff.

[2] Written Ashur. [3] Written Ashir.

crude signs were misread until Andrae's excavations on that site gave us many additional texts.

28. 1. Brick inscription giving Irishum's genealogy (text, *KAH*, I, No. 1).

Irishum, viceroy of Assyria, son of Ilu-shuma, viceroy of Assyria; [Ilu]-shuma, [son] of Shalim-ⁱahumⁱ, viceroy of Assyria; Shalim-ahum, son of Puzur-Ashir, ⁱviceroy of Assyria].

29. 2. Brick inscription referring to the rebuilding of the Assur temple (text, *KAH*, I, No. 61). This is probably a more complete duplicate of the inscription published in IR, 6, No. 2, and again in *AKA*, p. 1 (photograph, p. xv).

Irishum, viceroy of Assyria, son of Ilu-shuma, viceroy of Assyria; for Assur, his lord, for his life and the life of his city, the whole temple ⁱhe (re)builtⁱ.

30. 3. Inscription on bricks from the Assur temple and the *mushlalu*, or buttress stairway on the north of this temple (text, *KAH*, II, No. 5; photographs, Andrae, *Fest.*, Tafel LXXXV).

Irishum, viceroy of the god Assur (*v.*, Assyria), son of Ilu-shuma, viceroy of Assyria, for Assur, his lord, for his life and the life of his city, the whole inclosure(?) of the temple of Assur, and the *mushlalu*, a mighty(?) abode of Assur, has built.

31. 4. Brick inscription from the Assur temple (text, *KAH*, II, No. 7).

Irishum, viceroy of the god Assur, the temple of Assur, has built, and(?) *huburu* and . . . . . .

32. 5. The same. It is possible that the complete text of 2 was the same as this (text, *KAH*, II, No. 8).

Irishum, viceroy of the god Assur, son of Ilu-shuma, viceroy of Assur, for Assur his lord, for his life and the life of his city, the whole house (and) inclosure(?), for Assur has built. Two *huburu* I made (*lit.*, begot), two *hurush* of 1 talent of copper in their rooms(?) I set up.

33. 6. Inscription on a door-socket (text, *KAH*, II, No. 11).

Irishum, viceroy of the god Assur, son of Ilu-shuma, viceroy of the god Assur, the whole house (and) inclosure(?) for Assur, his lord, for his life and the life of his city, has built.

[When] I built (*lit.*, laid) that(?) house for *sibsi*, my praying, my calling (on the name of god), I finished (*lit.*, made good), and tablet(s) of silver, gold, bronze (and) lead (in) grain I laid. At the side I set up ——— and ———. On every wall I sprinkled butter (cream) and honey, and I poured (them) out one *tipku* deep.

May Assur, my lord, stand and, from the *Zinim*-gate[1] to the gate (called) *Nisih-bitâtim*, may he look. May he hate the enemies of the wall and may he go up against all who are enemies of mine and of the wall.

Whoever shall destroy any of my work, (or this) document (inscription), not rejoicing in it(?), may Assur . . . . . .

34. 7. The same (text, *KAH*, II, No. 9).

Irishum, viceroy of Assyria, son of Ilu-shuma, viceroy of the god Assur, for Assur, his lord, for his life and the life of his city, the inclosure(?) . . . . . .

35. 8. Brick inscription recording the building of the temple of the god Adad (text, *KAH*, I, No. 60).

Irishum, viceroy of the god Assur, son of Ilu-shuma, viceroy of the god Assur; for his life and the life of his city, the temple of Adad in its totality, he (re)built, and set up its door-leaves.

36. Here may also belong the broken text published in *KAH*, II, No. 12.

. . . . . and . . . . Adad(?) I . . . . . for Adad, my lord, for my life and the life of my city, the temple and its inclosure(?) I built and [set up] its door-leaves.

[1] Cf. Assur-nâsir-pal, Monolith V, 33. See § 493. Was it a postern gate?

37. 9. Inscription on a pebble, possibly dedicated to Adad (text, *KAH*, II, No. 10).

[For Adad(?)[1] Erishum has made (this).

38. 10. Inscription on a stone slab (text, *KAH*, II, No. 6).

Irishum, viceroy of Assyria, son of Ilu-shuma, viceroy of Assyria; Irishum, viceroy of the god Assur, for (his) life has built (this temple).

VII. IKUNUM

39. From Ikunum we have only a potsherd with the beginning(?) of an inscription (text, *KAH*, II, No. 13).

Ikunum, viceroy . . . . . .

40. On a late copy of an older text, published by Johns in *AJSL*, XVIII, 176, there is a reference to a

temple of Ereshkigal which Ikunum, son of Erishum had built, (which) had fallen to ruins and Shamshi-Adad, son of . . . . . (re)built.

VIII. SAMSI-ADAD

41. Stamped bricks of Samsi-Adad, son of Igur-Kabkabu, were among the early objects found at Kalat Sherkat. The text of these was published in IR, 6, No. 1, and again in *AKA*, p. 2. Duplicates were recovered by the German excavators, and published in *KAH*, II, No. 16.

Samsi-Adad, viceroy of the god Assur, son of Igur-Kabkabu, builder of the temple of Assur.

42. Possibly to the same ruler (or to the following?) belong the shorter inscriptions on stamped bricks (text, *KAH*, II, No. 17) and "on a circular piece of agate, or onyx," in the British Museum (No. 89,906); see *AKA*, p. 2, n. 4. (Does text of *ZA*, XXI, 247 f. belong here?)

Shamshi-Adad, builder of the temple of Assur.

IX. SHAMSHI-ADAD

43. More uncertain in the list of Assyrian rulers is the place of "Shamshi-Adad, king of the universe," whose inscription follows. He does not mention the name of his father, an omission which in later

Assyrian history usually indicates the usurpation of the throne. For the first time we have a record of the extent of the royal conquests; in this case reaching into the regions to the north of Assyria, the later Armenia, and to the Mediterranean. With Shamshi-Adad also begin the references to the earlier rulers who had built and rebuilt the Assyrian temples which, owing to the materials used in their construction, were always in need of repairs. These references to earlier kings are often of great value in determining the succession of the Assyrian rulers, but are seldom of value in matters of chronology. The text of the inscription, carved upon a stone slab, is published in *KAH*, I, No. 2.

43A. (*Col. I*) Shamshi-Adad, king of the universe, builder of the temple of Assur; who devotes his energies to the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates. At the command of Assur who loves him, he whose (name) Anu and Enlil had named for great (deeds), above (those of, *lit.*, among) the kings who had gone before, the temple of Enlil, which Erishum, son of Ilu-shuma, had built, and whose structure had fallen to ruins: (*Col. II*) the temple of Enlil, my lord, a magnificent shrine, a spacious abode, the dwelling of Enlil, my lord, which had been planned according to the plan of wise architects, in my city Assur I roofed (that) temple with [cedars]; in the doors I placed door-leaves of cedar, covered with silver and gold. The walls of (that) temple, (laid) upon silver, gold, lapis lazuli, (and) *sandu*-stone,—(with) cedar-oil, choice oil, (*Col. III*) honey, and butter I sprinkled the mud-walls. The temple of Enlil, my lord, I inclosed (with a wall), and *Eamkurkurra*, "the Temple of the Wild Ox of the Lands," the temple of Enlil, my lord, in my city Assur, I called its name.

44. When I built the temple of my lord Enlil, the (standard) price(s) in my city Assur (were as follows): For one shekel of silver, two *gur* of grain, for one shekel of silver, fifteen minas of wool, for one shekel of silver, twenty *ka* of oil, (*Col. IV*) according to the (standard) price(s) of my city Assur, were bought.

45. At that time, the tribute of the kings of Tukrish and of the king of the upper country I received in my city Assur. My great name and my memorial stele I set up in the country of Labân on the shore of the Great Sea (the Mediterranean).

46. When that temple shall have fallen to decay, whoever it may be among the kings, my descendants (*lit.*, sons) (*Col. V*) who shall restore the temple, let him anoint my foundation cylinder and my memorial stele with oil, let him pour out libations upon them and return them to their places. Whoever does not anoint my foundation cylinder and memorial stele with oil, does not pour libations upon them and does not restore them to their places, but (re)builds the temple and alters my memorial stele, blots out my name and inscribes his own name (upon it), or covers it with earth, or throws it into the water: that king,—(*Vol. VI*) [may Enlil and] Adad [overthrow[1] his ⌜rule⌝ [in the] land, [from before the king who is his] ⌜foe⌝ may ⌜he⌝ and his forces not escape. May Nergal in violence bring about his destruction and the destruction of his land. [May Ishtar, goddess of battle[1], ⌜mistress⌝ of war, shatter his arms and the arms of his hosts. May Sin, my patron(?),[1] be his evil lier-in-wait for all time to come.

X. ASHIR-NIRÂRI I

47. From the first Ashir-nirâri we possess three brick inscriptions (with duplicates) published in *KAH*, I, No. 62, and in *ibid.*, II, Nos. 18 and 19.

1. Ashir-nirâri, viceroy of the god Assur, son of Ishme-Dagan, viceroy of the god Assur, builder of the temple of Bêl, the elder.[2]

2. Ashir-nirâri, viceroy of the god Assur, son of Ishme-Dagan, viceroy of the god Assur, restorer of the court of the *abaru*.[3]

[1] *Lit.* "god of (at) my head." [2] Possibly to be read Bêl-shipria. But see § 249.

[3] Perhaps "inclosure." Adad-nirâri, son of Arik-dên-ilu, repaired this court; see § 107.

3. Ashir-nirâri, viceroy of the god Assur, son of Ishme-Dagan, viceroy of the god Assur, builder of the temple of Sin and Shamash.

XI. PUZUR-ASHIR IV(?)

48. The chief interest of the inscription of Puzur-Ashir, possibly the fourth bearing the name, is his reference to a former Assyrian ruler named Sargon. This Sargon, son of Ikunum, is also mentioned in a fragment of a kings' list (*KAV*, No. 18; see Vol. II, § 1189). The text of Puzur-Ashir's inscriptions, inscribed on limestone slabs and the edge of a bowl, is published in *KAH*, II, Nos. 29 and 21.

1. Puzur-Ashir, viceroy of the god Assur, son of Ashir-nirâri, viceroy of the god Assur. The *bît-shuhûri*[1] of the temple of the Assyrian Ishtar, which Ilu-shuma, the prince, had built, and Sargon(Sharru-kîn) my ancestor, son of Ikunum, had restored (and) which had fallen to ruins, I (re)built.

2. . . . . of Puzur-Ashir

49. Another inscription of Puzur-Ashir is given in Andrae, *Fest.*, p. 156, in transliteration and translation (photograph on Tafel LXXXVII of the second volume of that work).

3. Puzur-Ashir, viceroy of the god Assur, son of Ashir-nirâri, viceroy of the god Assur, for his life and the welfare of his city. I (re)built the wall of the *mushlalu* which had fallen to ruins and set up my *zigâte*.[2]

May a future prince, when that wall shall fall to ruins (re)build it. (Then) Assur and Adad will hear his prayers. [Let him (also) restore] my *zigâte* to their places.

[1] The (*bît*)*shuhûri* or *shahûri* is mentioned in a number of inscriptions (see Index). The form *shahûru* seems to be a synonym of *aburru*, "inclosure," but this is not of much help in determining its architectural significance.

[2] Also spelled *zikkâte*. (Plural of *zigatu*.) They are phallic cones, usually made of clay. A photograph of a clay phallus is given in *MDOG*, No. 22, p. 26. Cf. also *ibid.*, No. 32, p. 25 n.

XII. ASHIR-BÊL-NISHÊSHU

50. The text of Ashir-bêl-nishêshu's *zigâte* inscriptions is given in *KAH*, II, No. 22. See also *Fest.*, p. 156, and Tafel, LXXXVI where this and another fragmentary text are given.[1]

Ashir-bêl-nishsêshu, viceroy of the god Assur, son of Ashir-nirâri, viceroy of the god Assur, for his life . . . . . The great wall of the new city [which Puzur[1]-Ashir (had built). . . . .

XIII. ASHIR-RÎM-NISHÊSHU

51. A *zigatu* inscription of Ashir-rîm-nishêshu gives us the name of the traditional first builder of the city wall of Assur (Kalat Sherkat), namely, Kikia. The text is found in *KAH*, I, No. 63, and also in Andrae, *Fest.*, p. 155, with photograph on Tafel LXXXVI.

Ashir-rîm-nishêshu, viceroy of the god Assur, son of Ashir-nirâri, viceroy of the god Assur, (grand)son of Ashir-rabi, the viceroy.

The wall which Kikia, Ikunum, Sargon(Sharru-kên), Puzur-Ashir (and) Ashir-nirâri, son of Ishme-Dagan, my ancestors (*lit.*, fathers) had built, had fallen to ruins. For my life and the welfare of my city, I (re)built it from its foundation to its top (*lit.*, lip). And I restored its *zigâte* to their places.

May (some) future prince, when that wall shall fall to ruins, restore it. (Then) Assur and Adad will hear his prayers. Let him return its *zigâte* to their places.[2]

XIV. ASSUR-NÂDIN-AHÊ

52. From the palace of Assur-nâdin-ahê we have a number of inscribed bricks (text, *KAH*, II, No. 24). The same text is on the brick fragments in the British Museum (*Guide*, No. 115,695, p. 62). For the place of Assur-nâdin-ahê in the list of Assyrian kings, see § 58.

Palace of Assur-nâdin-ahê, viceroy of the god Assur.

[1] The text assigned tentatively to Erîba-Adad I has been replaced on Tafel LXXXVI by another fragment (see § 55).

[2] The end of an inscription published in *KAH*, II, No. 23, and there assigned to Ashir-bêl-nishêshu, is probably a variant of this inscription of Ashir-rîm-nishêshu. Instead of "lip" for "top," it reads "lips" (cf. *KAH*, II, No. 28, *Rev.*).

XV. ERÎBA-ADAD

53. A glance at the text of Assur-uballit given below (§ 58) will show the reason for restoring the names of Erîba-Adad, etc., at the beginning of the following inscription. Note also the fragmentary kings' list, Vol. II, § 1192. The text is published in *KAH*, II, No. 25.

1. [Erîba-Adad, priest of Assur, son of Assur]-bêl-nishêshu, [priest of Assur]; [Assur-bêl]-nishêshu, [son of Assur]-nirâri, [priest of Assur]; [Assur]-nirâri, [son of Assur]-râbi, [priest of Assur]. . . . . .

(*Rev.*) . . . . *zikkâti* I set up. May (some [future prince], when [that temple] shall fall to ruins, [restore it. Then] Assur [and Adad will hear his prayers]. The [*zikkâti*] [may he return to their places].

54. The oldest of the royal steles uncovered by Andrae at Kalat Sherkat is that of Erîba-Adad (*Stelenreihen*, p. 41).

2. Stele (*lit.*, image) of Erîba-Adad, king of the universe.

55. Possibly to Erîba-Adad's time belongs the fragmentary text published in *KAH*, I, No. 58, and given in transliteration and translation in Andrae, *Fest.*, pp. 156 ff.

3. [X, son of Y, viceroy of the god] Assur, for his [life and the safety of his city.] The great wall [of the new city(?) .] . . . . . which Puzur-Ashir, [my ancestor, who lived before me . . . . . had built . .] . . . . that wall . . . . . had (re)built. From the great wall which is in the midst of the city, up to the river, [Z] had inclosed (it),[1] from its foundations to its top I rebuilt (it). [Its *zigâte*] I set up. May some future prince, [when that wall] shall fall to ruins, restore it. [Then Assur] and Adad [will hear] his prayers. Its *zigâte* let him restore [to their places.]

56. To one of the earlier Assyrian rulers must also be assigned the broken inscription published in *KAH*, II, No. 26.

The chief of the workmen . . . . . At that time, with the reed of Assyria, on the side of Mount Ebih, on the bank

[1] That is, faced it with stone or new brick.

of the Tigris, I built a city, and surrounded it entirely (with a wall). From its foundations to its top, I built, I completed it. And the name of that city I called Sharru-iddina. My memorial stele I inscribed, and my name I established forever. Let the (prince) who comes after (me) look upon this stele of mine, and let him honor my name . . . . . .

57. A portion of a *zigatu* inscription, given by Andrae, *Fest.*, p. 157 (Tafel XCIII*c*), contained the account of the restoration of the *shalhû*, or outer wall, by some early ruler. Unlike most of the early *zigatu* inscriptions, this one was dated.

[X, viceroy of Assur, etc.] [At that time the *shalhû*, which . . . . .] . ⌜my ancestor⌝ had built, [had fallen to ruins. From its foundation⌝ to its top [I rebuilt it and my *zigâte*⌝ I set up. [May (some) future prince,] when that *shalhû* [shall fall to ruins, restore it . . . . . will hear his prayers.⌝ [Let him return⌝ ⌜my *zigâte* to their places.]

[Eponymy of ———] -Marduk, [son of] Adad-⌜shammai.⌝

XVI. ASSUR-UBALLIT

58. Assur-uballit (*ca.* 1380 B.C.) of Assyria has long been known from the Synchronous History (Col. I, 19 f.) as the father of Mubal-litat-Sherûa, wife of the Kassite king Burna-buriash and mother of Karahardash (Karaindash), who was slain in an uprising. In the second of the two letters Assur-uballit wrote to Amenophis IV of Egypt (Knudtzon, *Die-el-Amarna-Tafeln*, No. 16, ll. 19 f.) he refers to "the time when Assur-nâdin-ahê, his father, wrote to Egypt." The word "father" may here have the meaning "ancestor," as often in the Assyrian texts, but even so our difficulties are not all cleared up. In the texts given below Assur-uballit does not include Assur-nâdin-ahê among his ancestors, although he carries his line back six generations. But from *KAV*, No. 11, we know that Assur-nâdin-ahê was the predecessor of Eriba-Adad, and that this king, as well as Assur-rîm-nishêshu, must be placed between Eriba-Adad and Assur-bêl-nishêshu. (Cf. Vol. II, § 1192.) Assur-uballit's line probably had some trouble in holding the Assyrian throne.

On a clay tablet, having the common Assyrian amulet form, we have Assur-uballit's account of the rebuilding of the palace in the new city (text, *KAH*, II, No. 27).

59. 1. Assur-uballit, priest of Assur, son of Erîba-Adad; Erîba-Adad, priest of Assur, son of Assur-bêl-nishêshu; Assur-bêl-nishêshu, priest of Assur, son of Assur-nirâri; Assur-nirâri, priest of Assur, son of Assur-rabi; Assur-rabi, priest of Assur, son of Enlil-nâsir; Enlil-nâsir, priest of Assur, son of Puzur-Assur, priest of Assur.

Assur-uballit, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, [for his life] and the welfare of his city, [the palace] of the new city [which] they had brought(?) from the outside(?) and then established in the midst of the city, which Puzur-Assur, my ancestor, a (former) prince, had built before my (day), fell to ruins, from its foundations to its top I (re)built it. And I set up my *zikatu*.

Let the prince who comes after (me), when that temple shall fall to ruins, restore it. (Then) Assur, Adad and Bêl-sharri will hear his prayers. And let him return my *zikatu* to its place.

The month *Muhur-ilâni*, eponymy of Enlil-mudammik.

60. The temple of Ishtar-dînitum, built according to Tukulti-Urta (§ 196) by Irishum, was restored by Assur-uballit (text, *KAH*, II, No. 28).

2. Assur-uballit, viceroy of Assur, son of Irîba-Adad; Irîba-Adad, viceroy of Assur, son of Assur-bêl-nishêshu; Assur-bêl-nishêshu, viceroy of Assur, son of Assur-nirâri; Assur-nirâri . . . . . .

(*Rev.*) Beams I stretched over it. Door-leaves I set up in it. From its foundations to its top (*lit.*, lips) I renewed it, and restored it to its place. And I caused Ishtar-dînitum my lady to dwell in the midst of that temple, and I set up my *zikatu*.

Let the prince who comes after (me), when that temple shall fall to ruins, restore it. (Then) Assur, Adad and Ishtar-dînitum will hear his prayers. (*Edge*) [And my *zikatu*] let him return ⌜to (its) place⌝.

61. In a third inscription of Assur-uballit we learn of the building of a canal which made an old well back of the temple terrace superfluous. This well was filled in to make way for a park (text, *KAH*, I, No. 64).

3. Assur-uballit, viceroy of the god Assur, son of Erîba-Adad, viceroy of the god Assur. When Assur, my lord, gave (the command) to build the Patti-duhdi-(canal), which brings plenty and abundance, the well, whose name was Uballit-(ni)shêshu,[1] whose conduit(?) was back of the (palace) terrace, whose depth, to the water, was ten cubits, (and) which Assur-nâdin-ahê, viceroy of the god Assur, had dug aforetime;—on a limestone . . . . . a wall of limestone was built, (reaching) to the bottom of the well. To carry out the construction of a park I tore down the fallen (parts of that wall), I filled it up with dirt.

In the days to come, may the king who desires (to use) that well, have its dirt removed and let him (thus) reach its waters.

62. Besides the Synchronous History we have the following interesting document which is indicative of the temporary *rapprochement* between Assur and Babylon. The text, from a clay memorial tablet found at Kalat Sherkat and now in the British Museum (No. 96,947), is published in *AKA*, pp. 388 f.

63. 4. Marduk-nâdin-ahê, the scribe of the king, the son of Marduk-uballit, the son of Ushshur-ana-Marduk, blessed by god and king, humble (though) exalted, who makes glad the heart of his lord: the house which I have placed in the shadow of the temple of Marduk, my lord, and the well for ⌜fresh⌝ water which I have opened therein,—through the supreme wisdom of Marduk, my lord, I made large its *bît-mandu* round about (it); heavy (sub)structures of burnt brick, of which no man knows (the like), by my wise planning, I built underneath the whole of it; the house in its entirety, its rooms and its chambers I built and completed.

[1] "It keeps alive its (the city's) people."

(*Rev.*) . . . . . I have not . . . . . May Marduk behold that house, and may he grant that it may be my resting-place, and for my sons, for my sons' sons, for my seed, and for the seed of my seed, forever, may he stablish it fast, and . . . . of Marduk, my lord, and Sarpanîtu, my lady, . . . I(?) and my family, ... let us make . . . . . and houses of (which?) my fathers . . . . . were brought(?) . . . . . and through the command of Marduk, my lord, ... may he (?) restore. And to my lord, to Assur-uballit, ⌜who loves me⌝, the king of the universe, my lord, length of days may the lord of fulness and abundance grant.

XVII. ARIK-DÊN-ILU

64. Arik-dên-ilu, whose name was long misread Pudi-ilu, was until recently represented by only two inscriptions. The first was that on the well-known limestone prism of the British Museum (No. 91,059; photograph in *AKA*, p. xix), while the second was that on a brick from Kalat-Sherkat, "in private possession." This latter text was published by Lenormant, *Choix de textes cunéiformes*, p. 169, No. 72 (see *AKA*, p. 3, n. 2). In the course of the systematic excavations of Assur (Kalat-Sherkat) by Andrae, an alabaster tablet, inscribed on its four sides, came to light. This, like the British Museum prism, came from the Shamash temple. From Arik-dên-ilu's reign also comes our earliest Assyrian Annals text.

The text on the alabaster tablet is published in *KAH*, II, No. 29; that of the limestone prism in *AKA*, p. 3.

65. 1. Arik-dên-ilu, the mighty king, king of Assyria, builder of the temple of Adad, Eanna(?), the glorious(?), for the days that are; son of Enlil-nirâri, king of Assyria; (grand) son of Assur-uballit, king of Assyria. When I planned to build that temple, because of the abundance (*lit.*, success) of the harvest of my land,[1] in the shrine of Shamash, a high(?) place, which formerly was the place where the laws of the land were administered, and (which) now had been turned to

[1] Had there been a famine? One thinks of the "royal stele with a partly erased inscription describing the return of abundance after a drought," published in King, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones*, p. 128.

heaps and ruins, its "sides" from(?) the ten people who had seized upon (them) and settled there, I took away. I established its foundation in the eponymy of Beruti, son of Erîba-Adad, king of Assyria.

In days to come let (some) future prince, when that temple shall fall to ruins, restore it; let him anoint my memorial steles with oil, let him offer sacrifices, let him return (them) to their place. (Then) Shamash will hear his prayers. Whoever destroys my memorial steles, counts them for destruction, may Shamash, my lord, overthrow his kingdom, and upon his land bring famine.

66. 2. Arik-dên-ilu, the true(legitimate) prince, the mighty king, king of Assyria; builder of the temple of Shamash, the temple of (his) tutelary deity.

Whoever blots out my inscribed name, or alters my memorial, may Shamash, my lord, overthrow his kingdom, and may he bring (*lit.*, cast) famine to his land.

67. 3. The inscribed brick (*Choix de textes*, No. 72) evidently came from the palace of Arik-dên-ilu.

Palace of Arik-dên-ilu, king of Assyria, son of Enlil-nirâri, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Assur-uballit, king of Assyria.

68. 4. The fragmentary Annals of Arik-dên-ilu, first published in transliteration by Scheil, *OLZ*, VII, 216, are now given in Clay, *Babylonian Records* (Morgan), IV, No. 49.

. . . . . to the year . . . . . x hundred (*or*, thousand) of their sheep, 100 of their cattle, ... to the city of Assur I brought.

At that time . . . . . 7 *IGI-MAL* in their (*fem.*) mouth, before him(?) . . . . . (he) made. Arik-dên-ilu . . . . . his gift to Ishtar . . . . . his . . . . . he presented . . . . . .

69. . . . . Arik-dên-ilu, his harvest which Esini . . . . . like(?) Esini. 33 chariots which . . . . . with (*or*,

in) *shidite* he smote. Arik-dên-ilu in . . . . . the . . . . . of his chariots (?) he proceeded (?). The chariot(s) . . . . . of the land of Nigimhi . . . . . in the city of Arnuni he shut up . . . . . his gate he caused to shine(?) . . . . . Arik-dên-ilu shattered. Esini . . . . . like a pelican(?) to Arik-dên-ilu . . . . x minas each, Arik-dên-ilu . . . . the cities of Turiha(?), Habaruha, which to (against) . . . . . the city of Kutila, their men (soldiers) he deported . . . . . the cities of Tarbisu and Kudina he . . . . . he gave them. The city of Kutila . . . . . they brought under their sway(?).

70. At that time with 90 of his(?) chariots . . . . . he crossed. 600 men of the city of . . . . . in (with) *shidite* he smote. Rima—. . . . . for the crime(?) of the city, every . . . . . he smote . . . . 2 minas each . . . . . from the land of Halahi, as far as the going forth(?) . . . . . he carried off (plundered), 254 thousand(?) . . . . . he smote, their overthrow he brought about. ⌜Their booty⌝ . . . . . to the city of Assur he brought.

71. At that time . . . . . Asini revolted to . . . . . .

(*Rev.*) . . . . . whoever blots out the word of this tablet . . . . . the great gods . . . . . of heaven and earth, a curse that cannot be warded off(?) . . . . . ⌜have no mercy⌝ upon them. Above, in heaven . . . . . them, below, on earth . . . . . may he be . . . . . May Sin, the luminary (Nannar) of the gods . . . . . May ⌜leprosy⌝ like a garment ⌜clothe him⌝ . . . . . your . . . . . .from out of temple and palace may he destroy . . . . . their seed, their images (steles?) may he (?) burn with fire. . . . . their torch ⌜may he plunge⌝ into the water. . . . . .

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF ADAD-NIRÂRI I

72. In Adad-nirâri I (*ca.* 1300 B.C.) we come upon an ambitious and able ruler. Under him the Assyrian state made its first great strides toward becoming a world-power. We are dependent upon building inscriptions for our information as to his activities at home and abroad. Apparently the arrangement of the king's conquests by yearly "campaigns" in the introductory paragraphs of dedicatory inscriptions had considerable difficulty in establishing itself as a correct literary form. The start in this direction, made by Arik-dên-ilu, does not seem to have been followed up by his immediate successors. However, the extent of Adad-nirâri's activities, if not the chronological order thereof, may be gathered from the long Introduction prefaced to a number of building inscriptions. This Introduction, with variants, follows:

73. Adad-nirâri, illustrious prince, honored of god (*v.*, the gods), lord, viceroy of the gods (*or*, viceroy of the land of the gods), city-founder, destroyer of the mighty (*or*, *perhaps*, haughty) hosts of Kassites, Kutî, Lulumî, and Shubarî; who destroys all foes north and south (*lit.*, above and below); who tramples down their lands from Lubdu and Rapiku to Eluhat (*v. adds*, who conquers Taidi, Shuri, Kahat, Amasaki, Hurra, Shuduhi, Nabula, Ushshukani and Irridi, the whole Kashiaeri region, as far as Eluhat, the fortress of Sudi, the fortress of Harran, as far as Carchemish, which is on the bank of the Euphrates); who captures all peoples, enlarges boundary and frontier; the king to whose feet Anu, Assur, Shamash, Adad and Ishtar have brought in submission all kings and princes; the exalted priest of Enlil, son of Arik-dên-ilu, viceroy of Enlil, priest of Assur, conqueror of the lands of Turuki and Nigimhi in their totality, together with all their kings, mountains, and highlands, the territory of the widespreading Kutî (*v. adds*, conqueror of Kutmuhi and all of its

allies), the hordes of the Ahlamî and Sutî, the Iauri and their lands, who enlarged boundary and frontier; grandson of Enlil-nirâri, priest of Assur, who destroyed the armies of the Kassites, whose hand overcame all of his foes, who enlarged boundary and frontier; great-grandson of Assur-uballit, the mighty king whose priesthood in the great temple was glorious (*lit.*, surpassing), the peace of whose reign was established to distant lands (firm) as a mountain (*v. adds*, who subjugated Musri); who destroyed the armies of the widespreading Shubarî, who enlarged boundary and frontier.

74. Like the long Introduction, the "blessings and curses," appended to the building inscriptions, had assumed a standard form which, to avoid repetition, is given here (with variants):

75. In days to come, may (some) future prince, when this place (*v.*, this wall; *or*, city wall; *or*, quay wall) shall become old and fall into ruins (*v. adds*, when the high water shall carry it off), restore its ruins, return my memorial stele with (and) my inscription to its place. (Then) Assur will hear his prayers.

76. Whoever blots out my name and writes his own name (in its place), or breaks my memorial stele, or consigns it to destruction, or throws it into the river, or covers it with earth, or burns it in the fire, or casts it into the water, or takes it into a dark chamber (*or*, pest house) where it cannot be seen, and sets it up therein, or if anyone because of these curses sends a hostile foe or an evil enemy, or an evil tongue (*i.e.*, a slanderer), or any other man, and has him seize it, or if he plans and carries out any other plot against it, may Assur, the mighty god, who dwells in Eharsagkurkurra, Anu, Enlil, Ea, and Ishtar, the great gods, the Igigu of heaven, the Anunaku of earth, all of them, look upon him in great anger, and curse him with an evil curse. His name, his seed, his kith and kin, may they destroy from the land. The destruction of his land, the ruin of his people and his boundary, may

they decree by their fateful command. May Adad overwhelm him with an evil downpour, may flood and storm, confusion and tumult, tempest, want and famine, drought and hunger, continue in his land; may he (Adad) come upon his land like a flood and turn it to tells and ruins (*v. adds*, may Ishtar, the queen, bring about the overthrow of his land; may he not be able to stand before his enemy). May Adad destroy his land with destructive lightning (*v. adds*, and cast famine upon his land).

77. The building and rebuilding of temples, palaces, city walls and gates—these were the operations which occupied the Assyrian kings when they were not off on some campaign. The city walls, especially the east wall, along the river front, and the *mushlalu*, or buttress stairway on the north side of the Assur temple, were completely overhauled and strengthened by Adad-nirâri.

I. RESTORATION OF THE *MUSHLALU*

78. The *mushlalu* inscription is found on an alabaster tablet in the British Museum (No. 90,978). It was published in IVR, 44 f., and again in *AKA*, pp. 4 f. (photograph, p. xxv). The text of a duplicate was published by Jastrow in *AJSL*, XII, 143 f. Still another duplicate was found by Andrae and photographed in his *Fest.*, Tafel LXXXVIII.

79. When the *mushlal* of the temple of Assur, my lord, which is opposite the gate (called) *Nish-ili-mâti* ("Invocation of the God of the Land"), and the gate (called) *Daianê* ("Divine Judges") which had been built aforetime (*v. inserts*, of limestone and mud), had fallen into decay, had given way and was in ruins, that place I tore up. I went down to its foundation, with stone and earth from the town of Ubasê I rebuilt it and restored it to its place. And I set up my stele.

(*Here follow the blessings and curses and the date:*)

The month *Muhur-ilâni*, the twentieth day, the eponymy of Shulmanu-karradu.

II. REPAIRS ON THE SOUTH WALL OF ASSUR

80. The account of repairs on the south wall of the city was also inscribed on alabaster tablets. The text of the inscription is published

in *KAH*, I, No. 4; the transliteration and translation are given in Andrae, *Fest.*, p. 160, and photograph on Tafel LXXXVIII.

81. At that time the great wall of the new city, with a rampart (? *mulû*)[1] facing . . . . . , and which (extends) from the great wall of the middle of the city (*or*, Inner City) around(?) to the river, which Puzur-Assur, my ancestor, a king who lived before my time, had built aforetime;—that wall my ancestor Assur-bêl-nishsêshu inclosed (with an incasing wall). Again it gave way, and my ancestor Erîba-Adad, viceroy of Assur, a king who lived before my time, rebuilt the fallen wall from its foundation to its top, its gates and piers (towers?) as well, here strengthening, there incasing. That wall became weak and fell into ruins (once more) and Adad-nirâri, viceroy of Assur, repaired it. I strengthened the weak places, and rebuilt the fallen (parts), from its foundation to its top. I made it fourteen bricks thick, according to my large brick measure, and set up (my) memorial steles. The memorial steles of my ancestors I set up beside my own. (*After the blessings and curses we have the broken date:*)

The month *Karrâtu*, the eponymy of . . . . . .

III. RESTORATION OF THE EAST WALL

82. Adad-nirâri's greatest building task was the restoration of the eastern wall along the river. The river front as he left it underwent practically no changes to the end of Assur's history. The text on the clay tablet recording this work is published in *KAH*, I, No. 3 (cf. *ibid.*, II, No. 36, for variants). For translation see Andrae, *Fest.*, pp. 160 f., and for photograph, Tafel LXXXIX.

83. At that time the wall of the new city which faces the river (and) which is provided with an incasing wall (? *halsi tisari*), which my ancestor Puzur-Assur, who reigned before me, had built aforetime,—two and one-half bricks was its thickness, thirty layers its height,—had become weak and had given way, and the high waters had carried it off and

[1] Possibly, like *tamlû*, "terrace," from the root meaning "to be full."

obliterated all traces of it (*lit.*, made its place unknown). I dug down to its foundation, and, according to my large brick measure, I made it ten bricks thick. Its foundation walls I laid with huge blocks of mountain stone. From its foundation to its top I rebuilt it. Its gutters, which ⌜carry off⌝ the water, with stone, burnt brick, and bitumen I strengthened. With a quay wall of stone, burnt brick and bitumen I inclosed its riverward side and set up my memorial stele.

(*After the blessings and curses is given the date:*)

The month *Muhur-ilâni*, the first day, the eponymy of An-Assur-kalla, the major-domo.

IV. RESTORATION OF THE QUAY WALL

84. The restoration of the quay wall along the river front also called for commemorative inscriptions. Two of these, of which the first was written on clay tablets, the second on stone, are published in *KAH*, II, No. 35 (a text from less perfectly preserved duplicates had already appeared in *ibid.*, I, No. 65; also Andrae, *Fest.*, p. 161, with photograph on Tafel LXXXIX), and *KAH*, II, No. 33.

85. 1. The quay wall which faces the river and (runs) from the upper "city threshold,"[1] of the gate of Ea-sharru, to the lower "city threshold" of the gate of Nabû, which had been ruined by the water,—whose stone and (burnt) brick the high water had carried off for it; that quay wall I strengthened with bitumen and (burnt) brick. I made it $4\frac{1}{2}$ bricks thick. With stone and earth from Ubasê I strengthened its back and I set up my memorial stele.

(*After the blessings and curses comes the date:*)

The month *Sippu*, the . . . day, the eponymy of Andarisina.

86. The full text of *KAH*, II, No. 33, is given because of the short Introduction and the variants in the blessings and curses.

87. 2. Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, the mighty king, king of Assyria, son of Arik-dên-ilu, king of Assyria, son of Enlil-nirâri, king of Assyria.

[1] Cf. Inscription of Adad-nirâri II, §§ 383 and 582.

The quay wall, along the river, which had been ruined by water, whose stone and (burnt) brick the floods (high water) had carried off for it,—that quay wall I strengthened with bitumen and mud, $4\frac{1}{2}$ bricks thick I made it. With stone and bitumen mortar (*lit.*, mud of bitumen) I strengthened its back.

Let the prince who comes after (me), when that quay wall shall fall to ruins, and the floods carry it away, restore its ruins, and rebuild it; let him return my stele and my foundation cylinder to their places. (Then) Assur and Adad will hear his prayers. The one who destroys my stele and my name, may Assur, my lord, overthrow his rule, may Adad with his evil lightning destroy his land and may he bring famine to his land; him, his army, and his seed, let him carry off, and may he not be able to stand before his foe; let him make his land like a ruin (left by) a deluge.

Month of *Bêlit-ekallim*, the thirteenth day, the eponymy of Assur-musherish.

88. In addition to these longer inscriptions, numerous shorter ones were stamped upon bricks. These are published in *KAH*, I, Nos. 7 and 12 (also in Andrae, *Fest.*, p. 162: 2, 3). The British Museum bricks, Nos. 90,253; 90,265; 90,812; 114,402 have the same inscriptions (cf. *VS*, I, 63).

3. Palace of Adad-nirâri, the viceroy, son of Arik-dên-ilu, the viceroy: (a brick) from the quay wall which faces the river.

4. Palace of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, son of Arik-dên-ilu, king of Assyria: (brick) from the quay wall at the mouth of the canal of the palaces.

V. PALACE REPAIRS

89. Of repairs upon the palace we become acquainted through numerous brick inscriptions. Some mention only the name of the king, with genealogy; others indicate the particular part of the palace which had been improved or restored (cf. bowl inscription K8554).

90. 1. (*KAH*, I, No. 67:) Palace of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, son of Arik-dên-ilu, king of Assyria.

91. 2. (*KAH*, I, Nos. 9 and 11:) Palace of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, son of Arik-dên-ilu, king of Assyria, son of Enlil[-nirâri], king of Assyria.

92. 3. (*KAH*, II, No. 38:) Palace of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, son of Arik-dên-ilu, king of Assyria, son of Enlil-nirâri, king of Assyria: (brick) belonging to the terrace.

93. 4. (*KAH*, I, No. 8:) Palace of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, son of Arik-dên-ilu, king of Assyria, son of Enlil-nirâri, king of Assyria: (brick) from the court of the *labuni*-house.

94. 5. (*KAH*, II, No. 37:) Palace of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, son of Arik-dên-ilu, king of Assyria, son of Enlil-nirâri, king of Assyria: (brick) belonging to the court of Bêlit-ekallim.

95. 6. (*KAH*, II, No. 40:) Palace of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, son of Arik-dên-ilu, king of Assyria, son of Enlil-nirâri, king of Assyria: (brick) belonging to the *bît-shudutini-sâmi*.

96. 7. (*KAH*, I, No. 68:) Palace of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, son of Arik-dên-ilu, king of Assyria: (brick) belonging to the *shuduni-sami*.[1]

97. On alabaster vases were found the following inscriptions (*KAH*, II, Nos. 30 and 31):

8. Palace of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, son of Arik-dên-ilu, king of Assyria, son of Enlil-nirâri, king of Assyria.

98. 9. Palace of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, son of Arik-dên-ilu, king of Assyria, son of Enlil-nirâri, king of Assyria: booty from the city of Taidi (*v.*, the city of Irridi).

99. On fragments of two alabaster tablets is preserved an inscription recording more extensive repairs upon the palace. The Intro-

[1] This is evidently a variant writing of the name at the end of the preceding paragraph.

duction and Conclusion are the same as those given above (§ 73). The text is published in *KAH*, I, No. 5.

100. 10. At that time the palace of my city Assur, which Assur-nâdin-ahi, offspring (?) of my ancestors, a king who reigned before my time, had built aforetime:—the wall at (*lit.*, of) the head of the gate of the Scepter, which faces the *pilu* which is in that palace, wherein was built the shrine of my lord Assur, (*Rev.*) and yearly my lord Assur goes to dwell in that shrine:—that wall became weak and I cleared away its ruins, I renewed it, I restored it to its place and I set up my memorial stele.

VI. RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE OF ISHTAR

101. Five of the inscribed stone tablets which were set up in commemoration of Adad-nirâri's restoration of the Ishtar temple—built, according to tradition, by Ilu-shuma, and frequently restored—have survived. The text is published in *KAH*, II, No. 34.

102. Adad-nirâri, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Arik-dên-ilu, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Enlil-nirâri, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur.

When the temple of the Assyrian Ishtar, my lady, which aforetime Ilu-shuma, priest of Assur, my ancestor, son of Shalim-ahi, priest of Assur had built and completed, (when) that temple fell into decay, then Sargon (Sharru-kîn), priest (*v.*, prefect) of Assur, son of Ikunum, priest (*v.*, prefect) of Assur, restored it. It again fell into decay and Puzur-Assur, my ancestor, priest (*v.*, prefect) of Assur, son of Assur-nirâri, priest (*v.*, prefect) of Assur, restored it. That temple and its *namaru*, the *shuhuru* (*v.*, *bît-shuhuru*) of the court, and the *hurush* of Ishtar, of the court, which they (also) call the *altammu* of Ishtar, (*v. adds*, and the temple of Ishhara, of the court), had again fallen into decay, and I, Adad-nirâri, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Arik-dên-ilu, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Enlil-nirâri, prefect of Enlil,

priest of Assur, (of that temple)[1] I repaired the weak places, its breaches (? *tirâti*) I stopped up, its foundation wall I strengthened with masonry. The beams of the *bît-shuhuru*, which were dislodged and broken(?), and the beams of the *bît-hurush* of Ishtar,—their damaged parts I removed, I put in new beams. I restored it (the temple) to its place and I set up my memorial stele.

In days to come, let the prince who comes after (me), when that temple shall fall into decay, restore it. (Let him return) my memorial stele and my inscribed name to their place, and Assur will hear his prayers. Whoever destroys my inscription and my name, may Assur, the lord, overthrow his rule; may he destroy his name (and) his seed from the land; (and) may Ishtar, my lady, bring about the overthrow of his land; may he not (be able to) stand before his enemy; may Adad destroy his land with his evil lightning and bring famine to his land.

The month of *Bêlit-ekallim*, the tenth day, the eponymy of Assur-dâmik (*v. dates:* The month *Karrate*, the eponymy of Sha-Adad-ninu. The month of *Sin*, the first day, the eponymy of Sha-Adad-ninu).

VII. RESTORATION OF THE GATE OF ANU AND ADAD

103. On a door-socket, undoubtedly from the gate itself, is an inscription recording the restoration of the gate of Anu and Adad, which probably means the gate to the temple of Anu and Adad. The text of the inscription is given in *KAH*, I, No. 6.

104. Adad-nirâri, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Arik-dên-ilu, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Enlil-nirâri, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur.

When the piers (*or*, posts, *abusâtu*) of the gate of my lords Anu and Adad, and their door-leaves, which had been built aforetime, fell to ruins, I rebuilt the piers from their founda-

[1] So variant.

tions to their tops; door-leaves of mighty fir (*ashuhu*) trees, with large new hinges (*irriti*), I made; with a covering (*i.e.*, bands) of copper I covered (them), and in the gate of my lords Anu and Adad I set them up for all time to come.

105. In days to come, may (some) future prince, who restores the piers and their door-leaves when they shall have fallen into ruins, do as I (have done); may he return my inscription to its place. (Then) Assur, Anu and Adad [will hear] only his prayers.

106. But whoever blots out my inscription and name, may Assur, Anu and Adad, the great gods, who come to my aid, who give counsel (as to) my pious deeds, overthrow his kingdom, destroy his name and seed from the land. The destruction of his land, the ruin of his people and his boundary may they decree by their fateful command. May Adad with his destructive lightning destroy his land, and may he bring famine to his land.

VIII. REPAIRS ON THE TEMPLE OF ASSUR

107. We also have a number of short inscriptions from the Assur temple. On bricks stand the texts, *KAH*, II, No. 39, and *ibid.*, I, No. 10. British Museum, No. 114,402, is a duplicate.

1. Adad-nirâri, priest of Assur, son of Arik-dên-ilu, priest of Assur; the damages of the court of the *abaru* of the temple of Assur, his lord, he repaired.

2. Adad-nirâri, priest of Assur. The . . . . . of the wall of the temple of Assur, his lord, which he had built in front of the gardens of Adad, he strengthened.

Adad-nirâri, priest of Assur.

108. The brief text, published in *KAH*, II, No. 32, is taken from a large number of pottery fragments.

3. Belonging to the temple of Assur. Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria, at its three (*v.*, four) feasts, he made (used? these).

IX. STELE INSCRIPTION

109. On Adad-nirâri's stele at Assur stood the simple inscription (Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, pp. 39 f.):

Belonging to Adad-nirâri, the king.

110. Possibly to Adad-nirâri belongs also the inscription published in *KAH*, I, No. 57.

. . . . . that wall I built anew. The dislodged beams and weak and old timbers I tore down. The dislodged beams and new timbers I put back (in place). The cracks of the wall I . . . . . and that wall . . . . . from its foundation (*Rev.*) to its top I rebuilt, to its place I restored it, and I set up my memorial stele.

111. In future days, let the prince who comes after (me), when that wall falls to decay, restore it, let him return to its place my memorial stele and Assur will hear his prayer. Whosoever blots out my name and writes his name (in its place) or destroys my memorial stele, Assur, the great lord, who dwells in Eharsaggalkurkurra . . . . . .

CHAPTER IV

INSCRIPTIONS OF SHALMANESER I

112. In the inscriptions of Shalmaneser I (*ca.* 1280 B.C.), son of Adad-nirâri, we have the first preserved detailed account of military operations conducted by an Assyrian king. Shamshi-Adad tells in a few lines of setting up his stele on the shore of the Great Sea, which is generally interpreted as the Mediterranean. We have also seen that the beginning of what developed into the annalistic records of the later Assyrians was made by Arik-dên-ilu. However, in Adad-nirâri's inscriptions we still have nothing but sweeping statements of victorious marches reaching as far as Carchemish on the banks of the Euphrates. But in the Introduction to an inscription of Shalmaneser, recording the restoration of Assur's temple, we have what corresponds to the "first campaign" of the later Assyrian annals. At the time of his accession the whole land of Uruadri (Urartu, Armenia, the name occurs here for the first time) revolted. A vigorous campaign follows in which Shalmaneser attempts to make good Assyria's claim to much of the "Hittite" country.

The text of the inscription engraved upon a stone tablet is published in *KAH*, I, No. 13.

I. REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE OF EHARSAGKURKURRA

113. 1. Text with historical Introduction.

(*Obv. Col. I*) Shalmaneser, prefect of Bêl, priest of Assur, the holy, viceroy of the gods, favorite prince of Ishtar, who restores (purifies) the cult and the freewill offerings, who increases the bloody sacrifices and the offerings for all the gods; founder of splendid cities, builder of Eharsagkurkurra, the abode of the gods, the mountain of the lands; awe-inspiring despot (*v.*, chief priest, prefect of Anu and Bêl), shepherd of all peoples, whose deeds (*lit.*, ways) increase the good for Assur; strong warrior, mighty in battle, who burns up the

enemy, thunders (like Adad) among his foes, who bursts forth like a flame of fire, who is bold in battle, and, like the snare of certain death, is the onset of his arms; the legitimate ruler, who goes about, trusting in Assur and the great gods, his lords, who has no rival, who seizes the territory of the enemy north and south; the lord to whose feet Assur and the great gods have brought all kings and rulers in submission. When the lord Assur chose me for his legitimate worshiper, and, for the ruling of the black-headed people, gave me scepter, sword, and staff, he presented me the diadem of legitimate rulership.

114. At that time, at the beginning of my priesthood, the land of Uruadri rebelled (*v. adds*, became estranged from me and stirred up enmity), and to Assur and the great gods, my lords, I raised my hands in prayer, I mobilized my armies, went up against their mighty mountain fastnesses. The lands of Himme, Uadkun, Bargun, Salua, Halila, Luha, Nilipahri, Zingun,—eight countries with their forces, I conquered. Fifty-one of their cities I captured, I burned, as booty I seized their property. The whole land of Uruadri, in three days' time, (*Col. II*) I brought in submission at the feet of Assur my lord. Their young men I selected(?), took (them) for service, chose them to fear me. Heavy tribute for a mountainous region (to pay?), for all time I imposed upon them. The city of Arina, a strongly fortified mountain fortress, which had formerly revolted, despising the god Assur, by the help of Assur and the great gods, my lords, I took that city, I destroyed it and scattered *kudime* over its (site). Its dust I gathered and in the gate of my city Assur I poured it out (as a witness) for the days to come.

115. At that time the whole land of Musri I brought in submission to the feet of Assur my lord.

116. When, at the behest of the great gods, I advanced against the land of Hanigalbat with the mighty hosts of my

lord Assur, I forced my way over difficult roads and narrow passes. Shattuara, king of Hani (*v. has*, Hanigalbat), the army of Hittites and Ahlamî (Arameans) with him, I surrounded. He cut off (seized) the passes and my water supply. Because of thirst and fatigue my army bravely advanced into the masses of their (*v. adds*, widespreading) troops, and I fought a battle and I accomplished their defeat. I killed countless numbers of his defeated and widespreading hosts. Against (the king) himself, at the point of the spear, unto the setting of the sun I waged battle. (*Lower Edge*) I cut down their hordes, 14,400 of them I overthrew and took as living captives. Nine of his strongholds, his capital city, I captured. One hundred and eighty of his cities I overturned to tells and ruins. The army of Hittites and Ahlamî (Arameans) his allies, I slaughtered like sheep. (*Rev. Col. III*) At that time, from the city of Taidi to the city of Irridi, the whole Kashiari mountain region, to the city of Eluhat, the stronghold of Sudi, the stronghold of Harran as far as Carchemish, which is on the bank of the Euphrates, I captured their cities. Their lands I brought under my sway, and the rest of their cities I burned with fire.

117. Thereupon, the land of the Kutî, whose numbers are countless as the stars of heaven, who know how to plunder, came down upon me and fought with me, and stirred up enmity. To Assur and the great gods, my lords, I raised my hand in prayer, saying: "They faithfully promised me their good faith." I left the camp of my army behind, took the choicest third of my chariots, rushed into the midst of battle with them. From the border of the land of Uruadri to the land of Kutmuhi, remote(?) regions, a land of far-reaching (*lit.*, distant) stretches (*lit.*, leagues), the bodies of their widespreading hosts I poured out like water. With the corpses of their warriors I filled the wide plain. His booty, his cattle, his family(?), and his property I carried away to my city Assur.

118. Shepherd, duly appointed, whose name Anu and Bêl named for the days to come, am I; of an ancient line (everlasting seed), one who knows the gods; son of Adad-nirâri, perfect of Bêl, priest of Assur, (grand)son of Arik-dên-ilu, prefect of Bêl, priest of Assur.

119. When Eharsagkurkurra, the temple of my lord Assur, which Ushpia, priest of Assur, my ancestor, had built aforetime, fell into ruins, then my ancestor Erishu, priest of Assur, restored it. One hundred and fifty-nine (159) years passed after the reign of Erishu and that temple (again) fell into ruins. Then Shamshi-Adad, priest of Assur, restored it.[1] Five hundred and eighty (580) years elapsed, and that temple which Shamshi-Adad, priest of Assur, had restored, became old and weak (*lit.*, gray and old), fire broke out in it, its sacred edifice, every sanctuary (*ashar sâgi*), the shrines, the vestments, yea, all the property of the temple of Assur my lord, were burned with fire.

120. At that time I tore down the temple in its totality, I cleared away the earth from it, went down to its foundation, built its foundation walls of mighty stones, like the structure of the mountains. An illustrious temple, a lofty dwelling-place, a noble shrine, a magnificent abode, whose front was higher than (that) of the earlier (shrine), cunningly constructed, manifesting glory, befitting the dignity of his exalted divinity, worthy of his sovereignty, I restored with great care (*lit.*, I went to much trouble and restored) for Assur, my lord. Over against its foundations, (tablets of) stone, silver, gold, iron, bronze, lead (together with) herbs

[1] The fragment of an old Assyrian text published by Sheil in the *Recueil de Travaux*, XXII, 155 f., and again by Clay, *Babylonian Records* (Morgan), IV, No. 14, is almost certainly from a duplicate (with a few variants) of this text of Shalmaneser. It reads: ". . . . . prefect of Bêl, priest of Assur . . . . . prefect of Bêl, priest of Assur: . . . . . ruins(?), builder of the temple of . . . . . the abode of Enlil (*NUN-NAM-NIR*) . . . . . When Eharsagkurkurra, the lofty abode . . . . . which Ushpia (or Aushpia?), my ancestor, priest of Assur, ... had built aforetime, fell into ruins, then Erishu . . . . . priest of Assur (re)built it. 120[+39 years] passed [after the reign of Erishu.] . . . . . ."

in herbs I placed. In oil, choice oil, resin (blood of cedar), honey(?) and butter (*or*, cream), I laid its walls. From its foundation to its top I rebuilt it. I set up my memorial tablet, I established its feasts.

121. When the lord Assur enters that temple and makes his joyful abode in its noble shrine, may he look upon the splendid work(s) (which I performed upon) that temple, may he rejoice, may he hear my prayers, listen to my supplications, the decree for the peace of my priesthood, for my posterity in the priesthood, for joy of reign, by his exalted word, for the days to come, may he mightily decree.

122. The memorial tablets of former kings I anointed with oil, poured libations upon them, and to their places I returned them.

123. In days to come may some future prince, when this temple becomes old and (*Left Edge*) falls to ruins, recall the pious deeds of my hands (strength), the glory of my prowess may he proclaim. As I returned the memorial tablets of former princes to their places, so may he anoint my stele with oil, pour libations upon it and return it to its place. (Then) Assur and the Lady of the temple will hear his prayers. Whoever disturbs my stele and blots out the writing of my name, may Assur, the mighty god, who dwells in Eharsagkurkurra, the Igigi of heaven and the Anunaki of earth, all of them, look with disfavor upon him and with a terrible curse may they curse him in their anger. His name and seed may they destroy from the land. May some hostile king seize his throne and give his land to whom he pleases.

Month of *Sha-sarâte*, eponymy of Mushallim-Assur.

124. 2. Another stone tablet commemorating the restoration of Assur's temple bore the following inscription (published in *KAH*, I, No. 14):

Shalmaneser, prefect of Bêl, priest of Assur, son of Adad-nirâri, prefect of Bêl, priest of Assur.

When Eharsagkurkurra, the temple of Assur, my lord, which in days of old, the kings, my fathers, had built, became old and decayed, and that temple had been destroyed in a conflagration of fire; at that time I tore down the temple of my lord Assur in its totality, I cleared away the ground from it and penetrated to its foundation. Its foundation walls I constructed of heavy masonry, (firm) as the structure of a mountain. The temple of Assur, my lord, I made larger than it had been before. The *namaru* of the gate of the Lamassê, and the *namaru* which extends from the *mushlalu*[1] to the place of the court (? *ashar kisalli*) of Enlil, at the entrance,—those two *namari*, which had not existed before, I built according to plan. The place of the court of Enlil I made much larger than it had been before. The temple of Assur, my lord, totally, from its foundation to its roof I rebuilt. Therein I established the gods who dwell in the temple of my lord and set up my memorial stele. Let the prince who comes after (me) return my inscription to its place, and Assur will hear his prayers. But the man who blots out my inscription and name, may Assur, the lord, overthrow his kingdom, destroy his name and seed from the land.

Month of *Sha-kinâte*, eponymy of . . . . nâdin-shumâte.

125. 3. More details of the rebuilding of Eharsagkurkurra are given in the inscription on a clay tablet, the text of which appears in *KAH*, I, No. 15.

Shalmaneser, prefect of Bêl, priest of Assur, the mighty king, king of all peoples, ruler (*lit.*, shepherd; *perhaps*, fold) of the tribes of men; who cares for the temple, beloved of the exalted god Enlil; who burns the foe, who is unsparing, lord of battle, consuming the enemy, harsh toward the unfaithful, who humbles the wicked (foe), tramples on the mighty, subjugates all mountain districts, who overthrows to the remote(st) regions the widespreading Kutî, like

[1] See Index to Vol. II.

grain(?),[1] who conquers the Lulubî and Shubarî, who plunders the evil foe, north and south; son of Adad-nirâri, prefect of Bêl, priest of Assur; (grand)son of Arik-dên-ilu, prefect of Bêl, priest of Assur.

When I built the high *namari* in Eharsagkurkurra, the temple of Assur, my lord, by(?) the upper (*or*, shining) gates(?) of the Lamassê, on a base(?) of copper I placed large panels(?); cornice, molding, columns (doorposts), and door-leaves of copper I set up. At that time the old *bît hiburni*, which the kings, my fathers, (*Rev.*) had built aforetime, . . . to increase the width to (?) . . . . . those *bît hiburni* I ⌜burned(?)⌝, in their totality I tore them down. Sixteen (?) cubits I increased the width. I made its inner wall x bricks thick, its outer wall, 2 bricks, and I built the *erinakki*. *hiburni* and *radati* I restored to their places, made them larger than they were before, from their foundation to their tops I rebuilt and completed them, and set up my memorial stele. The stele of my ancestors I anointed with oil, ... of stone, silver and gold . . . . . to their places I restored them.

In future days let the prince, who comes after (me), when that work shall become old and fall to ruins, restore its ruins, and, as I did not remove the memorial steles of the kings, my ancestors, (but) restored (them) to their places, (so) let him restore my memorial steles to their places, and Assur will hear his prayers.

126. But the one who blots out my inscription and my name, may Assur, the lord, overthrow his kingdom, destroy his name and his seed from the land; may a hostile king take away his throne, and give his land to whom he pleases.

Month of *Sha-sarâte*, eponymy of Assur-kâshid.

[1] *Shube*, "standing corn"(?), a word occurring frequently in the early Assyrian texts.

127. 3. On a door-socket stood the inscription whose text is published in *KAH*, II, No. 44.

To Assur, his lord, Shalmaneser, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Adad-nirâri, priest of Assur, son of Arik-dên-ilu, priest of Assur: the temple of Assur, my lord, in its totality, from its foundation to its top I rebuilt. I made it greater than (it was) before. For my life (and) the peace of my seed, and the welfare of Assyria, to Assur, my lord, I presented (this door-socket).

128. 4. And on another door-socket stood this inscription (text, *KAH*, II, No. 46):

To Assur, my lord, (I) Shalmaneser, priest of Assur, son of Adad-nirâri, priest of Assur, son of Arik-dên-ilu, priest of Assur, presented (this door-socket).

II. RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE OF ISHTAR OF ASSUR

129. The restoration of the temple of Ishtar of Assur is commemorated in an inscription on an alabaster tablet (text, *KAH*, II, No. 42).

Shalmaneser, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Adad-nirâri, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Arik-dên-ilu, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur.

When the temple of the Assyrian[1] Ishtar, my lady, which Ilu-shuma, priest of Assur, my ancestor, son of Shalim-ahu, priest of Assur, had built aforetime and completed,—that temple fell into decay, and Sargon (Sharru-kîn), priest of Assur, son of Ikunu, priest of Assur, restored it. Again it fell into decay and Puzur-Assur, my ancestor, priest of Assur, son of Assur-nirâri, priest of Assur, restored it. (Once more) that temple fell to decay, and Adad-nirâri, my father, priest of Assur, restored it. Then I, Shalmaneser, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, repaired the weak places of that temple, stopped up its breaches (? *tirâti*), and set up my memorial stele.

[1] *Ashshûrîtu*, i.e., of Assur, the old capital.

The one who destroys my inscription and my name, may Assur overthrow his rule, and destroy his name and his seed from the land. May Ishtar, the lady, bring about the destruction of his land. Before his enemy may he not be able to stand. May Adad destroy his land with his evil lightning (and) bring famine on his land.

III. RESTORATION OF THE COURT OF THE NINEVITE ISHTAR AT ASSUR

130. On a tablet of gold[1] is found the following inscription (text, *KAH*, II, No. 43):

Shalmaneser, king of the universe, the mighty king, king of Assyria, son of Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Arik-dên-ilu, king of Assyria.

When the former court of the Ninevite (Ishtar), my lady, which the kings who went before me, had built aforetime, fell into decay, from its foundation to its top I rebuilt (it). To its place I restored it, and set up my memorial stele.

IV. PALACE INSCRIPTION

131. The text on bricks from Shalmaneser's palace at Assur is given in *AKA*, p. 13, and *KAH*, II, Nos. 45 and 47.

Palace of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, son of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe.

V. REPAIRS ON THE GATE OF LIBUR-SHALHI AT ASSUR

132. An alabaster tablet (now in the British Museum, No. 115,691) from the Gate of Libur-Shalhi was inscribed as follows (text, *KAH*, II, No. 41):

Shalmaneser, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Adad-nirâri, priest of Assur, son of Arik-dên-ilu, priest of Assur.

When the gate of Libur-Shalhi which is at the side (? *or*,

[1] The golden tablets of Shalmaneser I, Tukulti-Urta, Shalmaneser III, and Sargon were what we should call "foundation deposits." The ceremony connected with their deposition is described in the first of Shalmaneser's inscriptions given above (see § 120).

to the right) of the *bît-salme* of the gate of Assur, my lord, which had been built aforetime, fell to decay, I cleared away its ruins, repaired its weak places and rebuilt the fallen parts, from its foundation to its top; and I set up my memorial stele.

Let the prince, who comes after (me) restore its ruins, let him return my inscription to its place, and Assur will hear his prayers. But whoever destroys my inscription and name, may Assur, my lord, overthrow his rule, and bring famine on (his) land.

The month of *Hibur*, the eponymy of Mushabshiu-Sibi.

VI. RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE OF ISHTAR OF NINEVEH

133. From the fragments of bowl inscriptions, published by King in the Appendix to his *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I*, it has been possible to reconstruct a text of Shalmaneser recording the restoration of the temple of Ishtar of Nineveh.[1]

134. [Shalmaneser, the great king, etc. . . . . son of Adad[1]-nirâri, [the great king,] the mighty king, king of the [universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Arik-dên-ilu, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of] Assyria; conqueror of . . . . . [the Shubarî[1], the [Lullumî . . . . . Musrî;[1] who, trusting in Ishtar, his lady, [marched forth; who has no rival; the king], who in the midst of battle [has fought] . . . . . their . . . . . .

135. When the temple of Ishtar, lady of Nineveh, my lady, [which] Shamshi-[Adad . . . . . had built . . . . . which] Assur-uballit, my [ancestor], had restored,—that temple . . . . . in the street . . . . . I repaired its weak places, and its fallen (parts) . . . . . [I renewed and restored] them to their place. That temple from its foundation to its [top I completed . . . . . my memorial stele] and cylinders (*perhaps*, bowls), I set up.

[1] The bowl fragments were found at Kuyunjik and are now in the British Museum.

136. [Let (some) future prince restore its ruins, ...] and as I (returned) the memorials of Assur-uballit, so may he [return my memorials to their places.] (Then) Ishtar will hear his prayers.

(*Here followed the usual curses.*)

137. A fifth fragment (*op. cit.*, pp. 133 f.) contains part of the name of Shalmaneser and portions of well-known phrases from his more perfectly preserved inscriptions, but the work commemorated cannot be determined from the few words that are left.

138. A sixth[1] fragment (*op. cit.*, pp. 135 f.) reads as follows:

[Shalmaneser], [prefect of Bêl, priest] of Assur, the mighty king, [king of all peoples, ruler] of the tribes of men; who cares for [the temple, beloved] of Enlil; conqueror of the mighty, [and faithless, enemies of Assur; who overthrows] to the remotest regions, the host of the Kutî, [like . . . . . ; who conquers the Lullumî and Shubarî; who tramples on the lands of the enemy; . . . . . [. son of Adad-nirâri, *etc.* . . . . . (grand)son of Arik]-dên-ilu, prefect of Bêl, priest of Assur.

When . . . . . fell to ruins and were destroyed (plundered), the temple towers . . . . . [Ishtar, my lady, their weak places I removed, their fallen (parts) . . . . . [the whole temple] I rebuilt and I set up my memorial stele and cylinder.

(*The usual blessings and curses followed.*)

VII. STELE INSCRIPTION

139. On Shalmaneser's stele at Assur was the short inscription (Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, pp. 38 f.):

Belonging to Shalmaneser, king of the universe.

[1] King's seventh. His sixth (and eighth) fragments belong to Tukulti-Urta, not to Shalmaneser.

CHAPTER V

INSCRIPTIONS OF TUKULTI-URTA I

140. The event in Tukulti-Urta's reign that undoubtedly made the deepest impression on his age was the capture of Babylon. The writer of the Babylonian Chronicle (82–7–4, 38) has much to tell about the struggles between the Assyrian and the Kassite kings, but, with the exception of Adad-nirâri's statement that his grandfather, Enlil-nirâri, was the "destroyer of the armies of the Kassites," until we reach the reign of Tukulti-Urta the Assyrian sources are silent. Evidently this vigorous ruler did not believe in halfway measures. Kashtiliash, the Kassite king, was forced to give battle, was defeated and carried captive before Assur, the god of his conqueror. The date of Tukulti-Urta I is *ca.* 1250 B.C.

For purposes of comparison the relevant passage from the Babylonian Chronicle (Col. IV, 1–13) is given here (text, King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib* I, p. 96).

141. The defeat of Kashtiliash he brought about . . . . . Before Urta he set him . . . . . Tukulti-Urta returned to Babylon and . . . . . they drew near to Babylon. The wall of Babylon he destroyed, the Babylonians he put to the sword. The treasure of Esagila and Babylon he profanely brought forth and the great lord Marduk he removed from his abode and carried him off to Assyria. The rule (*lit.*, way) of his governors he established in Karduniash (Babylonia). For seven years Tukulti-Urta ruled. Thereafter the nobles of Akkad and of Karduniash revolted and they set Adad-shum-usur on the throne of his father. As for Tukulti-Urta, who had brought evil upon Babylon, Assur-nâsir-pal, his son, and the nobles of Assyria, revolted and they cast him from his throne; in Kar-Tukulti-Urta they besieged him in his palace and slew him with the sword. For . . . . . -six years, until the time of Tukulti-Assur, Bêl (Marduk) dwelt

in Assyria; in the reign of Tukulti-Assur, Bêl came (back) to Babylon.

I. INSCRIPTIONS COMMEMORATING THE REBUILDING OF THE PALACE IN ASSUR

142. 1. Inscription on a stone slab, published in *KAH*, II, No. 58:

Tukulti-Urta, king of universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), the Sun of all peoples, the mighty king, king of Karduniash (Babylonia), king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the upper (and) lower sea, king of the mountains and the wide (desert) plains, king of the Shubarî (and) Kutî, and king of all the Nairî-lands; the king whom the gods have caused to attain unto his heart's desire (*lit.*, victory) and who, through the splendor of his might, has made himself ruler of the four regions (of the world), am I; son of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

143. At the beginning of my rule, in my first year of reign, the Kutî, Ukumanî, the lands of Elhunia and Sharnida, (and) Mehri, my hand conquered. The tribute of their lands, and the abundance of their mountains, yearly I received, in my city Assur.

At that time the Kurtî, the lands of Kutmuhi, Bushshi, Mummi, Alzi, Madani, Nihani, Alaia, Teburzi, Burukuzzi, the whole of the wide Shubarî-land, I burned with fire. The kings, their rulers, I brought in submission to my feet and imposed taskwork.

144. Remote(?)[1] mountains, where there were no roads, whose paths no (former) king knew, in the strength of my transcendent might I crossed and forty-three kings of the Nairî-lands boldly took their stand, offering battle. I fought with them, I brought about their overthrow. With their

[1] *KAH*, II, No. 60, l. 40, has "mighty" mountains.

blood I flooded the ravines and gullies of the mountains. All of their lands I brought under my sway. I imposed tribute and gifts (toll) upon them for all time.

145. Trusting in Assur, Enlil (Bêl) and Shamash, the great gods, my lords, (and) with the help of Ishtar, queen of heaven and earth, who went at the head of my army, I forced Kashtilash, king of Karduniash (Babylonia), to give battle; I brought about the defeat of his armies, his warriors I overthrew. In the midst of that battle my own hand captured Kashtilash, the Kassite king. His royal neck I trod on with my feet, like a *galtappi*. Stripped and bound, before Assur my lord, I brought him. Sumer and Akkad to its farthest border, I brought under my sway. On the lower sea of the rising sun, I established the border (*i.e.*, frontier) of my land.

146. At that time, in the temple area of my city Assur, on the north side, I cleared away great (quantities) of earth from wide areas, 20 *musarû*, by the rod(?). Below I built (*lit.*, brought) up its foundation. [Like] the solid mountain I made strong [its foundation walls]. I built Elugal-ukurkurra, my royal dwelling, which I love. From its foundation to its top I completed it, and I set up my memorial stele.

147. In the days to come, let (some) future prince, when that palace becomes old and falls into decay, restore its ruins, anoint my memorial stele with oil, offer sacrifices, and return it to its place. (Then) Assur and Adad will hear his prayers. He who blots out my inscribed name and writes his name (in its stead), who destroys my memorial stele, puts it in some other place, or some hidden place, whoever plans and does any such evil deed or if he prevents the gods who dwell in Assur from entering into my palace at the feasts, or directs them to another palace, causing them to leave that palace and to desert it, may Assur and Adad, the gods of

heaven and earth, ruin his kingdom, destroy his name and his seed from the land. May the king, who would harm him, deprive him of his throne (and) give his land to whomever he pleases. May Ishtar, the lady, lover of the years of my rule, bring about the overthrow of his land. Before his foes may he not be able to stand. Into the hand of his foes may she give him.

2. Another inscription on a damaged stone slab is published in *KAH*, I, No. 16:

148. Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the mighty king, king of the four quarters of the world, favorite of Assur, priest of Assur, the king whose pious works are well pleasing to the gods of heaven and earth, and to whose scepter they gave the command to rule the four quarters of the earth; whom they made powerful in all regions, and whose hand conquered all who refused him submission; who seizes the enemies' lands, who extends his border(s); the mighty king, favorite of the great gods, of royal lineage, whose priesthood in the temple and rule over all peoples, Enlil (Bêl) made great from days of old, am I. The son of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)-son of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

149. Then, from Tarsinâ, an inaccessible(?) mountain between the city of Shasila (and) the city of Barpanish on the other side of the Lower Zab, from the mountains of Sukushki and Lalar, [the region] of the widespreading Kutî, and the Ukumanî, the land of Elhunia, up to [Sharnida], the lands of Mehri, [Kurtî(?)] [Kutmuhi], Bushshe, [Mumme], and all of the Kashiari region; the lands of Alzi, [Madani], [Nihani], Alaia, [Teburzi(?) and Burukuzzi,] all of the widespreading [Shubarî], in their totality, to the [limit] [of their territory], [I accomplished] [their overthrow].

150. (*Rev.*) . . . . . .and . . . . . Assur, to . . . . . all . . . . . I established. Prince [without a rival], shep-

herd who cares for them, ... of their . . . . . am I. When the . . . of my palace . . . . in its totality, the temple towers of [Assur my lord¹ [had fallen level with] the ground, the palace, my royal abode, the palace in which I take delight, I rebuilt and set up my memorial stele.

151. In the days to come, let (some) future prince restore its ruins, let him anoint my stele with oil, offer sacrifices (and) return it to its place. [Then] Assur and Adad will hear his prayers.

Month (*left blank*) eponymy (*left blank*).

3. A third inscription on a stone slab, also badly damaged, is published in *KAH*, I, No. 17.

152. (*Obv.*) Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, the mighty king, king of Assyria, conqueror of the mighty, ⌜and(?)⌝ faithless, enemies of Assur, destroyer of the lands of the Ukumanî and Kurtî, who were insubmissive and all of them evil people; who tramples down the land of Kutmuhi, the armies of the Kutî (in their) mountain fastnesses; who overthrows the forces of the land of Shubarî in [its] totality; who destroys the land of Alzi and Purukussi, ⌜all of whom⌝ were insubmissive. The duly appointed prince, who, under the protection of Assur and the great gods, advances to the four corners (of the earth); who has neither subduer nor conqueror; who seizes the enemies' country, north and south; the great king, mighty in battle, who has brought under his sway all the lands of the Nairî, and has brought ⌜forty-three⌝ kings, their rulers, in submission to his feet; who has added the lands of Azalzi and Shepardi to the territory of his country; who has accomplished the overthrow of the land of Sumer and Akkad; [who has overthrown(?)¹ the land of Pil- . . . . . and . . . . . ; the son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria.

153. When the buildings of my palace [in the midst] of my city Assur, (the ones) which [face(?)] the east, (and are)

before the ⌜great⌝ temple towers of Assur, my lord, which aforetime Shalmaneser, prefect of Bêl, priest of Assur, my father, had built, fell to ruins, I cleared away its ruins, I penetrated to its foundation, I completely restored it from its foundation walls to its roof, and set up my memorial stele. Let (some) future prince restore its ruins, return my inscription to its place. (Then) Assur will hear his prayers. But whoever blots out my inscription and name, may Assur, the lord, overthrow his kingdom, and destroy his name and seed from the land.

Eponymy of Ina-Assur-shuma-asbat.

154. 4. On pp. 164 f., of Andrae, *Fest.*, is given a text of Tukulti-Urta which had to do with the rebuilding of the palace. The limestone block on which the inscription stood was split in two so that only the right-hand half of the lines is preserved. In the translation, the restorations suggested by Delitzsch are followed.

155. ⌜Tukulti-Urta⌝, king of the universe, [the mighty king, king] of Assyria, [king of the four regions (of the world), king of kings⌝, lord of lords, [rightful ruler], conqueror of the [mighty] faithless [enemies] of the god Assur; who tramples down the Ukumanî, [the Kutmuhi (in their) mountain fortresses⌝; [who destroys the armies] of the hostile Kutî; who overthrows [the forces] of the land of Shubarî [in its totality⌝, together with the distant ⌜Nairî-lands⌝, to their farthest border (*lit.* to the boundary of the place); [who seizes] the four regions (of the earth), north [and south]; son of Shalmaneser, [king of Assyria], (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, [king of Assyria].

156. Then [in the heart(?)⌝ of my city Assur, from the temple tower of Adad, [my lord], up to the Tabira(?)[1]-gate on the north ⌜side⌝ (of the city), ⌜many⌝ houses, (over) wide areas, ⌜and great⌝ masses of earth, ... I cleared away, 80 *musarû*. Below, I made strong its foundation, like the solid

[1] "Metal-workers."

mountain. I raised aloft its summit of limestone(?) ⌜and brick⌝. Its foundation [I made strong] ⌜as the structure(?)⌝ of the mountain. Elugalukurkurra, for my royal abode, for the . . . . . of the assembly of the gods, who have made great my sovereignty, from its foundation to its top I rebuilt, and I set up my stele.

157. 5. Brick inscriptions from the palace are given in *KAH*, I, No. 70; *ibid.*, II, No. 57; *ibid.*, No. 53; and Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, Nos. 4 and 5.

Palace of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, son of Shalmaneser, king of the universe. (Brick) from Elugalukurkurra, the new palace.

158. 6. On a potsherd is found the dedicatory inscription of one of Tukulti-Urta's governors (text, *KAH*, II, No. 56).

Palace of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria.

(That) which (is from) the hand of Nâsir-makkur-sharri, the governor of Kar-Tukulti-Urta.

II. REPAIRS ON THE CITY WALL AND MOAT

159. The inscription recording this work is on a *zigatu;* text in *KAH*, I, No. 18, and Andrae, *Fest.*, p. 163, with photograph on Tafel XCIII.

Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, the mighty king, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), Sun of all peoples, son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

160. When the wall of my city Assur, the old (*lit.*, former) one, which the kings who preceded me had built, fell to ruins and became old, I cleared away its ruins, rebuilt that wall and restored it to its place. A great moat, such as (*lit.*, which) none of the kings who preceded me had dug, a great moat I dug around (*lit.*, to surround) the whole wall. Its foundation,

the solid rock (*lit.*, structure) of the mountain, I widened with bronze pickaxes, twenty *musarû*. Below, I reached the water level, and in that wall I set up my foundation cylinder.

161. Let (some) future prince repair its ruins, return my foundation cylinder to its place. (Then) Assur will hear his prayers. But whoever blots out my inscription (and) my name, may Assur, the lord, overthrow his kingdom and destroy his name and seed from the land.

III. INSCRIPTIONS COMMEMORATING THE FOUNDING OF THE SUBURB OF ASSUR CALLED KAR-TUKULTI-URTA

162. Three inscriptions were written in commemoration of this event. Two are published in *KAH*, II, Nos. 60 and 61. The original of the latter is now in the British Museum (No. 115,692). The third text, from another memorial slab in the British Museum (No. 98,494), was published by King in *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I.*

163. 1. (*KAH*, II, No. 60) Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, the mighty king, king of Assyria, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions (of the world), favorite of Assur and Shamash, am I. The honored prince, the king favored of Enlil, who rules his land in safety with his peaceful scepter (*lit.*, in the peace of his scepter); high priest, called by Anu, who by the power of his might has subjugated princes (and) all kings; rightful ruler (*lit.*, true shepherd), who rejoices the heart of Ea, who has established his years in might over the four regions of the world; exalted priest, beloved of Sin, who with his outstretched scepter has ordered aright peoples and tribes (*lit.*, habitations); strong warrior, handiwork of Adad, who, in the years of his reign, has restored (*lit.*, renewed) plenty and abundance; mighty hero, favorite of Urta, who in the power of his might has consumed every region (of the world); powerful giant, beloved of Ishtar, who receives the tribute of the land of the rising and of the setting sun; son of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria,

(grand)son of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

164. On my accession to the royal throne, in my first year of reign, I carried off 28,800[1] Hittite warriors from the other side of the Euphrates, and in the Iaurî mountains, my hand conquered the Kurtî and Ukumanî as far as Sharnida (and) Mehri. The tribute of their lands and the abundance of their mountains, yearly I received. Kutmuhi, Bushshi, Alzi, Madani, Nihani, Alaia, Teburzi, Burukuzzi,—all of the widespreading Shubarî, with fire I burned. The kings, their rulers, I brought in submission to my feet and imposed task-work.

165. Mighty mountains, a wearisome region, whose paths no (former) king knew, I crossed in the strength of my transcendent might, I cut through their ranges with bronze axes and opened wide their closed paths. I fought in battle with 43 kings of the Nairî-lands, I brought about the defeat of their armies. All their lands I brought under my sway. The kings of those Nairî-lands, I galled their necks with copper fetters. To Ekur (*or*, the temple), the great mountain, my tutelary shrine, before Assur, my lord, I brought them. I made them take the oath by the great gods of heaven and earth. Tribute and gifts for all time I imposed upon them.

166. Under the protection of Assur, Enlil, Shamash, Sin, the great gods, my lords, and with the help of Ishtar, queen of heaven and earth, who goes before my hosts, I forced Kashtiliash, king of Karduniash (Babylonia), to give battle. I brought about the defeat of his armies, his warriors I overthrew. In the midst of that battle my own hand captured Kashtiliash, the Kassite king. I carried him stripped and bound before Assur, my lord. Sumer and Akkad, in its totality, I brought under my sway. The lands of Mâri, Hana, Rapiku, and the mountains of the Ahlamî, the lands of

[1] Eight *sars*. A *sar* is 3,600.

Hargamush, Mukanash, Bît-makki, Bît-Kulla, Akriash, Sikkuri, Huzush, Turnasuma, Hashshiluna, Shâda, Sappane, Tursinuhlia, Duri, Uzamia, Harnaphi, Shaddishshe, Ulaiash, Ulmuiaus(?); Hussaush, Ezâush, Damnaush, Arinni, Birite, Arraphi, Kurbata, Agalishna, Shadappa, Kamzikla, Kammarash, Elurê, Kammienza, Albadâ, Sikabda, Shabila,—these I brought under one rule. The tribute of their lands and the abundance of their mountains they brought before me. The prince, recipient of their gifts (bribes), the shepherd, their guardian, and the leader, who guides them aright, am I.

167. At that time Assur, the lord, desired a city of me, across the river from my city, Bait-ilâni, and commanded the building of his abode. At the command of Assur, the god who loves me, opposite my city Assur, on the bank of the Tigris, in the wastes of the flooded fields, where neither house nor dwelling existed, (where) neither rubbish nor earth had been poured, and (where) bricks had not been laid, I built Assur's city on the other side of the river. Kar-Tukulti-Urta I called its name. Cutting through the low-lying places according to the cord and carrying it across the difficult (places) of the high mountains through tunnels (*lit.*, tunneled rock), I opened up a canal (*mihirtu*),[1] called "Establishing the Life of the Land, Bringing Abundance," and caused the fields of my city to be abundantly watered. By the abundance of the waters of that canal, I secured fixed dues for Assur and the great gods, my lords, for all time.

168. At that time, in my city Kar-Tukulti-Urta, the town which I had built, I erected a holy house, an awe-inspiring dwelling, (for) the abode of Assur, my lord. Ekurmesharra I called its name. In it I completed a mighty temple tower (*ziggurrat*), as a dwelling for Assur my lord, and set up my memorial steles.

169. Let (some) future prince, when that temple tower

[1] A new word for *pattu* or *nârtu*.

and the temple of Assur, my lord, fall into decay, restore their ruins, let him anoint my memorial steles with oil, offer sacrifices, and return them to their places. (Then) Assur, Enlil (Bêl) and Shamash will hear his prayers. Who does not restore the ruins of the temple tower and the temple of Assur, my lord, and blots out my inscribed name, or destroys that temple tower by leaving it in an unseen or evil (place), who plans any evil matter, or carries it out against that temple tower and that temple of Assur, my lord, may Assur, Enlil (Bêl) and Shamash, the gods, my protectors, afflict him with sorrow (*lit.*, sighing) and evil of heart. In war and battle may they shatter his weapons, may they bring about the defeat of his armies, may they give him into the hand of the king who would do him harm, and in the land of his enemies may they let him sit in bonds, may they overthrow his kingdom, his name and his seed, may they destroy from the land.

170. 2. (*KAH*, II, No. 61) . . . . . .
the exalted prince . . . . . his . . . . .
Ea. . . . . Adad . . . . the lady, decisions . . . . . .
. . . . . strong . . . . beloved of the gods, storm of battle
. . . . mighty, an onset not to be met, favorite of the heart of Ishtar, queen of the gods of heaven and earth, beloved of the Igigi; the mighty king, king of Assyria, king of Karduniash (Babylonia), king of Sumer and Akkad, king of Sippar and Babylon, king of Dilmun and Meluhha, king of the upper and the lower seas, king of mountains and widespreading (desert) plains, king of the Shubarî, Kutî and all the Nairî-lands; the king who obeys (hears) his gods, who receives the heavy tribute of the four regions (of the world) in the city of Assur; son of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

171. On my accession to the royal throne, 28,800 Hittite warriors from the other side of the Euphrates, I carried off,

and in the midst of the Iaurî mountains my hands conquered the Kutî, Ukumanî, the lands of Elhunia and Sharnida, (and) Mehri. I accomplished the defeat of the widespreading Kurtî warriors in the midst of battle. Kutmuhi, Alzi, Madani, Nihani, Alaia, Teburzi(?), Burukuzzi and all of the widespreading Shubarî, I brought under my sway. The remote(?) mountains of the Nairî-lands I cut through, according to the cord. Forty-three kings and their queens, I brought in submission to my feet.

172. At that time, I forced Kashtiliash, king of Karduniash (Babylonia), to offer battle. The defeat of his armies I brought about. In that battle my own hand captured Kashtiliash, the Kassite king. Stripped and bound I carried him before Assur, my lord. The whole of Sumer and Akkad I brought under my sway. In joy of heart and in might I stood over them.

173. At that time Assur, the lord, desired a city of me, across the river from my city, Bait-ilâni, and commanded the building of his abode. At the command of Assur, the god who loves me, opposite my city Assur, on the bank of the Tigris, in the wastes of the flooded fields, where neither house nor dwelling existed, (where) no rubbish or earth had been poured, and (where) bricks had not been laid, I built Assur's city on the other side of the river. Kar-Tukulti-Urta I called its name. Cutting through the low-lying places according to the cord, and carrying (it) across the difficult (places) of the high mountains through tunnels, I opened up a canal called "Establishing the Life of the Land, Bringing Abundance," and caused the fields of my city to be abundantly watered. By the abundance of the waters of that canal I secured fixed dues for Assur and the great gods, my lords, for all time.

174. At that time I built Bît . . . . . ,[1] for the dwelling

[1] Although the traces of the signs as given in the text are not in its favor, it seems probable that *bît-sigurrata*, "temple tower," should be restored in this place.

of Assur, my lord. From its foundation to its roof I completed it. And I set up my memorial steles. Let (some) future prince, when . . . . . .

The introduction to the third inscription, B.M. 98,494, is an abbreviated copy of that of the preceding text and takes up the whole of the obverse and the first three lines of the reverse of the tablet.

175. 3. (*Rev. 4f.*) At that time Assur, the lord Bêl, desired a city of me, across the river from my city, and commanded the building of his abode. By the side of Bait-ilâni, I built a great city as my royal dwelling-place. Kar-Tukulti-Urta I called its name. In its midst I completed a temple for Assur, Adad, Shamash, Urta, Nusku, Nergal, the Seven, and Ishtar, the great gods, my lords. A direct canal for its sanctuaries, I opened up. By the abundance of the waters of that canal, I secured fixed dues for the great gods, my lords, for all time.

176. In the midst of that city I took great (quantities) of earth (from) beside the Tigris, and piled (it) up 120 *tikpi* high. Above those *tikpi* I built a palace correspondingly large, a mighty palace, (for) my royal abode.

177. At that time the wall of Kar-Tukulti-Urta, the great city, the bulwark(?) of my dominion, I built. From its foundation to its top I completed it, and I set up my memorial tablet.

178. In the days to come, let (some) future prince, when that wall shall become old and fall to decay, repair its ruins, anoint my memorial tablet with oil, offer sacrifices and restore it to its place. (Then) Assur will hear his prayers. Whoever shall destroy that wall and blot out my memorial tablet (with) my name inscribed (thereon), or shall abandon Kar-Tukulti-Urta, my royal city, or shall overthrow it (*lit.*, cast it down), may Assur ruin his kingdom, shatter his weapons, and bring about the defeat of his armies; may he diminish his boundaries, and decree the cutting short of his

reign; may he make his days sad and his years evil; his name and his seed may he destroy from the land.

IV. REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE OF THE ASSYRIAN ISHTAR

179. The restoration of the temple of Ishtar, built by Ilu-shuma (cf. §§ 26 and 129) seven hundred and eighty years before the time of Tukulti-Urta, was commemorated by inscriptions on gold and stone. Three have survived.

180. 1. The text of the first inscription engraved on a gold tablet is published in *KAH*, II, No. 48.

Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, the great king, the king of Assyria, favorite of Assur, priest of Assur, rightful ruler (*lit.*, true shepherd), beloved of Ishtar, who subjected the Kutî to their farthest border; son of Shalmaneser, priest of Assur, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, priest of Assur.

181. When the temple of the Assyrian Ishtar, my lady, which Ilu-shuma, my ancestor, priest of Assur, a king who went before me, had built aforetime,—780 years elapsed and that temple fell into decay and became old; (then,) at the beginning of my reign, I cleared away its ruins and penetrated to its foundations. That temple, a temple of (divine) law, the abode of her delight, E-ṣanna, the shrine of her splendor, an awe-inspiring dwelling, which surpassed the earlier (temple which was) before it, I (re)built and made it bright as the heavenly abode. From its foundation to its roof I completed it. My memorial stele I set up.

182. Let (some) future prince, when that temple shall become old and fall into decay, restore it, let him make it shine forth. Let him anoint my steles with oil, offer sacrifices, and return them to their place. (Then) Ishtar will hear his prayers. Whoever destroys my inscription (and) my name, may Ishtar, the lady, shatter his weapon, into the hand of his foes may she give him.

183. 2. The text on the second gold tablet is published in *KAH*, II, No. 51.

Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, the mighty king, king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria.

When the temple of the Assyrian Ishtar, my lady, which Ilu-shuma, my royal ancestor, had built aforetime, (when) that temple fell into decay, I cleared away its ruins, its ground I changed. The *bît-shuhuru* and *namaru* I built according to plan. A noble shrine for the abode of Ishtar my lady, I prepared. From its foundation to its top I rebuilt it.

184. 3. On a limestone slab stands the third surviving inscription commemorating the restoration of Ishtar's temple. The text is published in *KAH*, II, No. 59.

185. Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, the mighty king, king of Assyria, favorite of Assur, priest of Assur, rightful ruler (true shepherd), beloved of Ishtar, who subjugates the Kutî to (their) farthest border; son of Shalmaneser, priest of Assur, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, priest of Assur.

186. When the temple of the Assyrian Ishtar, my lady, which Ilu-shuma, my ancestor, priest of Assur, a king who went before me, had built aforetime,—780 years elapsed (and) that temple fell into decay, and became old; then, at the beginning of my reign, I cleared away its ruins, its foundation I strengthened. That temple, a temple of (divine) law, the abode of her delight, E-anna, the shrine of her splendor, an awe-inspiring dwelling, which surpassed the earlier temple which was before it, I rebuilt and made it bright like the heavenly abode. From its foundation to its roof I completed it, and I set up my memorial stele.

187. Let (some) future prince, when that temple shall become old and fall into decay, restore it, let him make it shine forth, let him anoint my memorial steles with oil, offer sacrifices, and return them to their place. (Then) Assur will hear his prayers. Whoever destroys my inscription and my

name, may Ishtar, my lady, shatter his weapon, may she give him into the hand of his foes.

188. At that time, at the beginning of my reign, Ishtar, (my) lady, desired of me another temple, which should be more splendid than the former E-anna, and that temple, as the abode of Ishtar, my lady, who formerly possessed a temple of the plain, a single (structure) for the dwelling of Ishtar was established, but a *bît-shahuru* was not built in front of it.

V. RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE OF ISHTAR DÎNITU

189. We have three versions of the account of Tukulti-Urta's restoration of the temple of Ishtar Dînitu. The first is on a stone slab in the British Museum (No. 114,263), published in *CT*, XXXVI, Plates 8–12; the second, on a stone slab and a tablet of gold, published in *KAH*, II, No. 49; the third, briefer, on a golden tablet, in *ibid.*, No. 52.

190. 1. Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, the mighty king, king of Assyria; king of kings, lord of lords, prince of princes, the ruler (who is) lord of all; conqueror of the powerful, and faithless, enemies of the god Assur; destroyer of the princes of the Kutî as far as Mehri; who overthrows the forces of the Shubarî and the lands of the Nairî,—remote regions (*lit.*, paths), to their farthest border (*lit.*, to the boundary of the place). The mighty king who rules the four quarters (of the world) after the gods, am I. The son of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

191. At that time the temple of Dînitu, my lady, which the former kings had built aforetime,—that temple fell to ruins. I cleared away its ruins, I strengthened its foundation. That temple from its foundation to its top I (re)built and I completed. Therein I made a lofty shrine, an awe-

inspiring abode, for the dwelling-place of Dînitu, my lady. And I set up my memorial stele.

192. Let (some) future prince restore its ruins, let him return my inscribed name to its place. (Then) Dînitu will hear his prayers. He who destroys my inscription and my name, may Dînitu, my lady, destroy his kingdom, may she shatter his weapons, may she turn his manhood into womanhood, into the hands of his foes may she give him.

(*On the top edge of the slab stands the name of the scribe:*)

Tanitti-Assur, the scribe.

193. 2. Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, the mighty king, king of Assyria, favorite of Assur, priest of Assur, rightful ruler (*lit.*, true shepherd), beloved of Ishtar, who subjected the Kutî to their farthest border; son of Shalmaneser, priest of Assur, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, priest of Assur.

194. When the temple of Ishtar-dînitu, my lady, which the kings, who went before me, had built aforetime:—that temple had been in ruins from the time of Adad-nirâri, priest of Assur, my ancestor, had caved in, and had been plundered; then, at the beginning of my reign, I cleared away its débris (dirt), I strengthened its foundation. The holy temple, the abode of her delight, E-anna, the perfect, the shrine of her repose, so that it surpassed the earlier (temple which was) before it, I (re)built, and from its foundation to its roof I completed it; and I set up my memorial steles.

195. Let (some) future prince, when that temple shall become old and fall into decay, restore it and make it shine forth. Let him anoint my steles with oil, offer sacrifices, and return (them) to their place. (Then) Dînitu (*i.e.*, Ishtar-dînitu) will hear his prayers. Whoever destroys my inscription and my name, may Dînitu, my lady, shatter his weapon, and give him into the hand of his enemies.

196. 3. Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria.

When the temple of Dînitu, my lady, which Ilu-shuma, a king, who went before me, had built, (when) that temple fell into decay and became old, I cleared away its ruins, I penetrated to its foundation. From its foundation to its top I rebuilt it. My memorial stele I set up. Let (some) future prince restore its ruins, let him return my inscribed name to its place. (Then) Assur will hear his prayers.

VI. RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE OF ISHTAR ANUNAITU

197. An inscription commemorating this event was engraved upon tablets of gold and silver. The text is published in *KAH*, II, No. 50.

Tukulti-Urta, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Shalmaneser, priest of Assur, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, priest of Assur.

198. When the temple of Anunaitu, my lady, which the kings who went before me had built aforetime, (when) that temple fell into decay, and became old, Shalmaneser, my father, priest of Assur, cleared away its ruins, penetrated to its foundation, laid (anew) its foundation walls. He rebuilt that temple. 72 *tipku* he raised it on high. Then (I) Tukulti-Urta, prefect of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur, added 20 *tipku* to these. Beams and door-leaves I set up. I (re)built the temple. I completed it. A shrine I prepared. I caused Anunaitu, the lady, to dwell in her shrine in joy and gladness. And I set up my memorial steles.

199. Let (some) future prince restore its ruins, let him return my inscribed name to its place. (Then) Anunaitu will hear his prayers.

VII. DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS

200. 1. On a limestone block; the text is published in *KAH*, II, No. 54.

To Assur, the great lord, father of the gods, his lord, Tukulti-Urta, prefect of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur, son of

Shalmaneser, priest of Assur, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, priest of Assur.

The peace of Assur, lord of Mount Abeh, his mountain which he loves, and wherein he has ⌜commanded⌝ (me) to build a lofty abode:—his sure favor I ask.

201. 2. On an altar dedicated to Nusku; the text is published in *KAH*, II, No. 55.

Altar of Nusku, exalted messenger of Ekur, bearer of the scepter of the temples, who stands before Assur and Enlil (Bêl), who daily speaks the prayer of Tukulti-Urta, his beloved king, before Assur and Enlil (Bêl) and the fate (destiny) of all things in the midst of Ekur. . . . . .

VIII. BOWL INSCRIPTIONS FROM NINEVEH

202. That Tukulti-Urta, like his father, restored the temples at Nineveh we know from fragmentary bowl inscriptions, coming from Kuyunjik, published in the Appendix of King's *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I*, Nos. 6 and 8.

The first, following an Introduction for the most part a duplicate of that of the text translated in § 180, ran:

its . . . . . I tore down, its sanctuary I . . . . . I completed, and my stele I set up.

(*Blessings and curses.*)

203. The second mentions "Pushshe and the 43 kings of the Nairî-lands." From the fact that a brick inscription in the British Museum (No. 99,438) shows that Tukulti-Urta restored the temple of Ishtar at Nineveh, King believes that we may assume that these fragmentary bowl inscriptions may be part of texts commemorating this work.

204. The British Museum also possesses "part of a lapis-lazuli mace-head with an inscription mentioning Tukulti-Enurta, king of Assyria" (No. 91,452). The brick inscription, mentioned above reads:

Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, son of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, builder of the temple of Ishtar of Nineveh.

IX. INSCRIPTION ON A STONE FROM THE COURT OF ASSUR'S TEMPLE

205. The poorly preserved text of this inscription is published in *KAH*, I, No. 19.

. . . . Assur, [his] lord, ... father of the gods . . . . . Tukulti-Urta . . . . . prefect of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur . . . . . son of Shalmaneser, prefect of Enlil (Bêl), ⌜(priest of Assur] . . [(grand)son of] Adad-nirâri, prefect of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur . . . . . god ⌜Assur] . . . . to lands . . . . . lands on the shore of the ⌜upper⌝ sea . . . . . in the heat of battle . . . . . I entered. All of . . . . the lands of the Nairî and the lands on the shore of . . . . . the upper sea . . . . . my hand conquered . . . . . their kings I brought under my sway, at my feet . . . . . and ⌜I imposed] taskwork. . . . . .

CHAPTER VI

THE SUCCESSORS OF TUKULTI-URTA I

I. ASSUR-NÂDIN-APLI

206. The Babylonian Chronicle gives the name of the patricide son of Tukulti-Urta as Assur-nâsir-pal (cf. § 141), but from a kings' list (Vol. II, § 1188) as well as a brick inscription, we infer that this was a scribal error for Assur-nâdin-apli. The text of the brick inscription is found in *KAH*, II, No. 62.

Palace of Assur-nâdin-apli, king of the universe, son of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe. (Brick from) the treasure-house of the ⌜king(?)⌝.

II. ASSUR-RÊSH-ISHI

207. For close to a century after the assassination of Tukulti-Urta we find Assyria almost totally eclipsed by the rising power of Babylonia. No inscriptions from the reigns of Assur-nirâri, Nabû-dân Enlil-kudurri-usur, Urta-apil-Ekur I, Assur-dân I, Urta-tukulti-Assur, and Mutakkil-Nusku have come down to us. Only with the accession of Assur-rêsh-ishi, father of Tiglath-pileser I, do we begin to detect signs of an Assyrian revival.

208. From a number of fragments of inscribed clay bowls, preserved in the British Museum, it has been possible to reconstruct three building inscriptions of Assur-rêsh-ishi. The texts were published in IIIR, Plate 3, Nos. 6–8, and again by King in *AKA*, pp. 17 f.

209. 1. Assur-rêsh-ishi, viceroy of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur, whose destiny Anu, Enlil (Bêl) and Ea, the great gods, determined in the womb of (his) mother, because they had chosen (*lit.*, desired) him, and whose rule they proclaimed for the guidance of Assyria; whose . . . . . the gods of heaven and earth love, and whose priesthood they have blessed; the exalted prince, who abundantly provides offerings for the great gods; the wise, the exalted, the hero of (*or*,

who) . . . . . of Irnina, the mighty in battle, who spares not the enemies of Assur; the great, the mighty (one), who consumes the insubmissive, who strikes the wicked with the thunderbolt. . . . . who destroys the widespreading hosts of the Ahlamî, who shatters their forces; who, in the name of Urta, the valiant one among the gods, ... north and south . . . . . who has brought in submission at his feet the . . . . . Lulumê, all of the Kutî and their entire mountain region; who wields (*lit.*, holds) a scepter . . . . . of the lands; avenger of Assyria; son of Mutakkil-Nusku, priest of Assur, (grand)-son of Assur-dân, priest of Assur.

210. When the *bît-namiru*, which . . . . . had built and which in the reign of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, had fallen to ruins, into the square (*or*, boulevard), ... the king, who lived before me, restored its ruins, ... of my father entered their *namiru*. And when they (again) fell into decay I tore them away(?), from the walls to the "beams of the house" (roof),—15 *tipku*, I . . . . . *tipku*, I increased to the former (dimensions?) . . . . . and with piers (*iaerî*) of stone I surrounded them.

211. In future, for all time, when that *bît-namiru* shall fall into ruins, let (some) future prince restore its ruins, the piers . . . . . my stele and inscribed name let him return to its place. (Then) Ishtar, the great lady, will hear his prayers. Whoever shall destroy my stele, may she overthrow his kingdom and his dynasty, may she command that he live not a single day (longer).

212. 2. Assur-rêsh-ishi, viceroy of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur, whose rule Anu, Enlil (Bêl) and Ea, the great gods, proclaimed for the guidance of Assyria, and whose priesthood they have blessed; the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Mutakkil-Nusku, priest of Assur, (grand)son of Assur-dân, priest of Assur.

213. When the *namiru* of the great gate of the Lion's

Head, ... the lofty court of the temple . . . . . [in] the street, in the reign of Assur-dân, builder. . . . . .

214. 3. Assur-rêsh-ishi, viceroy of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur, whose rule Anu, Enlil (Bêl) and Ea, the great gods, proclaimed for the guidance of Assyria, whose priesthood they have blessed; the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Mutakkil-Nusku, priest of Assur, (grand)son of Assur-dân, priest of Assur.

When . . . . . of the *bît-shahuri*, of the temple of . . . . . which . . . . . who lived before me had built, in the street, in the reign of Assur-dân . . . . . I completely (re)built (and) the piers (*iaerê*) [thereof] . . . . . .

215. When those . . . . . shall grow old and fall into decay, may (some) future prince [restore their ruins] may he write my name alongside of his name, in that place [may he set it]. May the gods prosper him (*lit.*, cause him to walk well). Whoever shall destroy my inscription . . . . . in wrath [may they look upon him; with an evil curse] may they curse him; his name and his seed [may they destroy] from the land.

CHAPTER VII

TIGLATH-PILESER I

216. The record of the military, hunting, and building activities of the first five years of the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (*ca.* 1100 B.C.) was inscribed upon four clay prisms which were deposited at the corners of the temple of Anu and Adad at Assur (Kalat-Sherkat). The fragments of these prisms found their way to the British Museum, and the text of the inscription became famous in the history of Assyriology through its selection, by a committee appointed by the Royal Asiatic Society, for translation by representative scholars to test the results of the early decipherers of the cuneiform (1857). The text was published in IR, 9 ff. and again by King in *AKA*, pp. 27 ff.[1]

I. PRISM INSCRIPTION (HISTORY OF FIRST FIVE YEARS OF REIGN)

Invocation of the gods (Col. I, ll. 1–27)

217. Beginning:[2] Assur, the great lord, ruler of all of the gods, bestower of scepter and crown, who established sovereignty; Enlil, the lord, the king of all the Anunnaki, the father of the gods, the Lord of lands; Sin, the wise, the lord of the lunar disk, exalted in splendor; Shamash, the judge of heaven and earth, who spies out the evil designs of the enemy, who exposes the wicked; Adad, the mighty, who overwhelms the regions of the foe,—lands and houses; Urta, the hero, who destroys the wicked and the enemy, who causes (man) to attain to all that the heart (desires); Ishtar, first among the gods, the lady of confusion, who makes battles terrible:—ye great gods, ye rulers of heaven and earth, whose onward rush is battle and destruction, who have enlarged the kingdom of

[1] Cf. *KAH*, II, No. 160, where variant readings of this text, from fragments found by the German excavators, are given.

[2] Introduction or Preface.

Tiglath-pileser, the beloved prince, the desire of your hearts, the exalted shepherd, whom in your faithful hearts ye have chosen, and whom ye have crowned with a lofty diadem, and did solemnly appoint to be king over the land of Enlil; to him have ye granted majesty, glory, and power, and ye have decreed that his rule should be mighty, and that his priestly seed should have a place in Eharsagkurkurra forever.

Titles and achievements of the king (*Col. I, ll. 28–61*)

218. Tiglath-pileser, the mighty king, king of the universe, who is without a rival, king of the four quarters (of the world), king of all princes, lord of lords, shepherd(?), king of kings, the exalted priest, on whom a shining scepter was bestowed through the command of Shamash, by which he has come to rule the nations, the subjects of Enlil, all of them; the rightful ruler (true shepherd), who (*v.*, whose name) has been proclaimed over (all) princes; the exalted leader(?), whom Assur has caused to brandish his weapons, and in order that he should be the shepherd of the four quarters (of the world) has proclaimed his name forever; the conqueror of remote territories on the (his) frontiers, north and south; the fiery tempest, whose splendor overwhelms the quarters (of the world); the glowing flame which, like the rush of a storm, overpowers the enemy's land; who through the command of Enlil has no rival, and has overthrown the enemies of Assur.

219. Assur and the great gods, who have made my kingdom great, and who have bestowed might and power as a (*lit.*, my) gift, commanded that I should extend the boundary of their land, and they intrusted to my hand their mighty weapons, the storm of battle. Lands, mountains, cities, and princes, the enemies of Assur, I have brought under my sway, and have subdued their territories. With sixty kings ——ly[1]

[1] Perhaps, "to (their) discomfiture."

I fought, and established (my) victorious might over them. I was without an equal in battle, or a rival in the fight. Unto Assyria I added land, unto her peoples, peoples. I enlarged the frontier of my land, and all of their lands I brought under my sway.

Year of accession

220. Campaigns against the Mushki (the Meshech of Gen. 10:2) and the land of Kutmuhi (Commagene). Assyria was feeling the impact of the "Northerners," Indo-Europeans, who were turned back from Egypt by Ramses III, but who, with the Aramean tribes pushing from the opposite direction, had shattered the Hittite empire (Col. I, l. 62—Col. II, l. 84).

221. In the beginning of my reign, twenty thousand men of the land of Mushki (*lit.*, Mushkians) and their five kings, who for fifty years had held the lands of Alzi and Purukuzzi, which (in former times) had paid tribute and tax unto Assur, my lord, and no king had vanquished them in battle,—in their own strength they trusted and came down and seized the land of Kutmuhi. With the help of Assur, my lord, I gathered my chariots and my troops. I looked not behind me. Mount Kashiari, a difficult region, I traversed. With their twenty thousand warriors and their five kings I fought in the land of Kutmuhi and I defeated them. The corpses of their warriors I hurled down in the destructive battle like the Storm-(god). Their blood I caused to flow in the valleys and on the high places of the mountains. I cut off their heads and outside their cities, like heaps of grain, I piled them up. Their spoil, their goods, and their possessions, in countless number, I brought out. I carried off six thousand (men), the remainder of their troops, who had fled from before my weapons and had embraced my feet, and I counted them as inhabitants of my land.

222. At that time also I marched against the land of

Kutmuhi, which was disloyal, and which had withheld tribute and tax from Assur my lord. I conquered the land of Kutmuhi in its length and breadth. Their booty, their goods, and their possessions I brought out. I burned their cities with fire, (*Col. II*) I devastated, I destroyed (them). The rest of the people of the land of Kutmuhi, who had fled from before my weapons, crossed over to the city of Shereshe, which is on the further bank of the Tigris, and they made that city their stronghold. I took my chariots and my warriors and over the steep mountain and through their wearisome paths I hewed a way with pickaxes of bronze, and I made passable a road for the passage of my chariot and my troops. I crossed the Tigris and conquered the city of Shereshe, their stronghold. I scattered their warriors in the midst of the hills like ———, and made their blood to flow in the Tigris and on the high places of the mountains. At that time also I beat down the forces of the Kurtê like a gust of wind(?), who had come, together with the troops of the land of Kutmuhi, to rescue and to help the land of Kutmuhi. The corpses of their warriors I piled up in heaps on the peaks of the mountain, and the river Nâme carried down the dead bodies of their fighting men into the Tigris. Kili-Teshub, the son of Kali-Teshub, whom men also called Irrupi, their king, my hand captured in the midst of the battle. His wives, his sons, the offspring of his loins, his household, one hundred and eighty vessels of bronze, five bowls of copper, together with their gods, gold and silver, the choicest of their possessions, I carried away. Their spoil and their possessions I brought out, and I burned that city and its palace with fire, I devastated, I destroyed (it).

223. (The people) of Urratinash, a stronghold of theirs which lies on Mount Panari,—terror and fear of the splendor of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed them, and, to save their

lives, they carried off their gods, and fled like birds to the tops of the lofty mountains. I took my chariots and my troops and I crossed the Tigris. Shadi-Teshub, the son of Hattu-shar(?), the king of Urratinash, embraced my feet before I drew near (to him) in his own land. His sons, the offspring of his loins, and his household, I took as hostages. Sixty vessels of bronze, bowls of copper, great caldrons of copper, together with one hundred and twenty slaves and herds and flocks, he brought as tribute and toll; I received them from him; I pardoned him, and spared his life. The heavy yoke of my rule I laid upon him for future days. I conquered the broad land of Kutmuhi in its entirety and brought it in subjection to my feet. At that time I offered unto Assur, my lord, one caldron of copper and one bowl of copper from the spoil and tribute of the land of Kutmuhi; sixty vessels of bronze, together with their gods, I dedicated unto Adad who loves me.

224. In the fury of my terrible weapons, which Assur, my lord, has endowed with power and might, with thirty of my chariots which advance by the side of my veterans, I took my valiant warriors, who wage relentless war to the finish, and marched against the land of Mildish, (with its) haughty and insubmissive (people). I traversed mighty mountains,—a difficult terrain, in my chariot(s) where (the road) was good, and on foot where it was bad. In Mount Aruma, a difficult region, where my chariots could not pass, I left the chariots and took my place at the head of my warriors. I was bold as a lion(?), and advanced triumphantly over the summits of the steep mountains. I overwhelmed the land of Mildish (so that it was) like a heap of ruins after a flood. I beat down their warriors in the midst of battle, like a gust of wind (?). Their spoil, their property, and their goods, I carried off; all their cities I burned with fire; hostages (I took), tribute and tax I laid upon them.

Paean of praise (*Col. II, ll. 85–88*)

225. Tiglath-pileser, the valiant hero, who opens up mountain trails, who subdues the insubmissive, who overthrows all that are proud.

Year 1. Against Shubartu, with a second attack upon Kutmuhi (*Col. II, l. 89—Col. III, l. 31*)

226. I subdued the land of the Shubarî, with its haughty and insubmissive (people) and upon the land of Alzi, and the land of Purukuzzi, which had withheld their tribute and tax, I laid the heavy yoke of my sovereignty, (and I ordered) that they should bring tribute and tax, year by year, to my city Assur, into my presence. Through my own valor, and because Assur, the lord, had put into my hand a mighty weapon which subdues the insubmissive, and commanded me to extend the frontiers of his land: four thousand (men of) Kaski and of Urumi, soldiers of the land of Hatti, who were in revolt and (*Col. III*) had seized the cities of the land of Shubarti, by their own strength,—cities which were subject to Assur, my lord,—they heard of my coming against the land of Shubarti, the brilliance of my valor overwhelmed them, they were afraid to fight (so) they embraced my feet,—(these four thousand men), together with their property, and one hundred and twenty chariots and their yoked teams, I seized, and I counted them as inhabitants of my land.

227. In the fury of my valor I marched against the land of Kutmuhi a second time. All their cities I conquered; their spoil, their goods, and their possessions I carried off; I burned their cities with fire, I destroyed, I devastated (them). The rest of their troops who took fright at my terrible weapons and were afraid of the mighty onslaught of my battle, sought the strong heights of the mountains, a difficult region, in order to save their lives. To the heights of the lofty hills and to the tops of the steep mountains, which it seemed impos-

sible for a man to tread, I went up after them. War with skirmishes and pitched battles, they waged against me. I defeated them. The dead bodies of their warriors I cast down on the tops of the mountains like the Storm-(god), and I caused their blood to flow in the valleys and on the high places of the mountains. Their spoil, their goods, and their possessions I brought down from the strong heights of the mountain. The land of Kutmuhi in its entirety I brought under my sway, and I added it to the borders of my land.

Paean of praise (Col. III, ll. 32–34)

228. Tiglath-pileser, the mighty king, the snare of the disobedient, who overwhelms the resistance of the wicked.

Year 2. Against the land of Haria and the hosts of the Kurtê, against the district beyond the Lower Zab and the land of Sugi (Col. III, l. 35—Col. IV, l. 39)

229. That I should march, in the exalted might of Assur, my lord, against the land of Haria and the widespreading troops of the Kurtê, (over) lofty hills which no king had ever entered, Assur, the lord, commanded. I gathered together my chariots and my host, between the mountains of Idni and Aia, a difficult region, I took the way. Among the high mountains, (the tops of) which were sharp as the point of a dagger, and which were impassable for my chariots, I left the chariots idle, and traversed the steep mountains (on foot). All of the Kurtê had banded together their widespreading troops, and had bravely taken their stand in the mountain of Azu to wage war, to fight, and to give battle. I fought with them in the mountain, a difficult region, and I defeated them. I piled up the dead bodies of their warriors in heaps on the high places of the mountain and caused the blood of their warriors to flow in the valleys and on the heights of the mountains. Against the cities which were located on the tops of the mountains I fiercely pressed on. Twenty-five cities of the

land of Haria, which lay at the foot of the mountains of Aia, Shuira, Idni, Shêzu, Shelgu, Arzanibiu, Urusu, and Anitku, I captured. Their booty, their goods, and their possessions I carried off; their cities I burned with fire, I laid waste, I destroyed (them).

230. The people of the land of Adaush feared the mighty advance of my battle array, they left their land (*lit.*, place) and fled like birds to the tops of the lofty mountains. The splendor of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed them, and they came down and embraced my feet. I laid upon them tribute and tax.

231. The lands of Saraush and Ammaush, which had never before known defeat, I overwhelmed, (so that they were) like a heap of ruins left by a flood. I fought with their troops in Mount Aruma and I defeated them. The dead bodies of their fighting men I scattered like ———; their cities I captured; their gods I carried away; their spoil, their goods, and their possessions I brought out; I burned their cities with fire, I laid waste, I destroyed, and I turned (them) into heaps and ruins. The heavy yoke of my rule I laid upon them, and I made them subject unto Assur, my lord.

232. The lands of Isua and Daria, (with their) haughty and insubmissive (people), I conquered, and laid tribute and tax upon them, I made them subject unto Assur, my lord. In my lordly power, wherewith I had conquered my foes, I led forth my chariots and troops, I crossed the Lower Zab, and conquered the lands of Murattash and Saradaush, which are in the midst of the mountains of Asaniu and Atuma, a difficult region. Their troops I cut down like lambs. The city of Murattash, their stronghold, I captured in the third part of a day, after sunrise. Their gods, their possessions, and their goods, sixty (*v.*, 120) vessels of bronze, (*Col. IV*) thirty talents of bronze, the furniture, the goods, the wealth of their palace I brought out as spoil. That city I burned with fire,

I devastated, I destroyed (it). At that time I presented the bronze unto Adad, the great lord who loves me.

233. In the greatness of the might of Assur, my lord, I marched against the land of Sugi, which is in the land of Kirhi, and which had not submitted unto Assur, my lord. Against six thousand of their host, (men from) the lands of Hime, Luhi, Arirgi, Alamun, and Nimni, the whole of the widespreading Kurtî, in the mountain of Hirihi, a difficult region, (the top of) which is sharp like the point of a dagger, I fought on foot against all of their lands, and I defeated them. Their fighting men I piled up in heaps on the peaks of the mountain, with the blood of their warriors I dyed the mountain of Hirihi (red) like scarlet wool. I conquered the land of Sugi in its length and breadth and brought out twenty-five of their gods, their spoil, their goods, and their possessions. I burned all their cities with fire, I devastated, I destroyed (them). The rest of their host embraced my feet, and I had mercy upon them. Tribute and tax I laid upon them, and counted them among the subjects of Assur, my lord.

234. At that time I presented the twenty-five gods of those lands, which I had captured with my hand and had taken away, as gifts to the temple of Bêlit (Ninlil), the mighty consort, the beloved of Assur, my lord, and (to the temples) of Anu and Adad, and the Assyrian Ishtar,—the sanctuaries of my city Assur and of the goddesses of my land.

Paean of praise (*Col. IV, ll. 40–42*)

235. Tiglath-pileser, the mighty king, the conqueror of the enemies' territory, the rival of all kings.

Year 3. Against the lands of Nairî (*Col. IV, l. 43—Col. V, l. 41*)

236. At that time, in the exalted might of Assur, my lord, through the sure mercy of Shamash the hero and with the

help of the great gods, I, who have ruled with righteousness in the four quarters (of the world) and who have not had a conqueror in battle, nor a rival in the fight, marched over difficult roads and through steep passes whose interior (heart) no king of former days had ever known, unto the lands of distant kings which are on the shore of the Upper Sea, and which had never known subjection,—Assur, the lord, having sent me. By roads that were blocked, by paths that were unopened, I traversed the mountains of Elama, Amadana, Elhish, Sherabeli, Tarhuna, Tirkahuli, Kisra, Tarhanabe, Elula, Hashtarae, Shahishara, Ubera, Miliadruni, Shulianzi, Nubanâshe, Shêshe,—sixteen mighty mountains, in my chariot where the country was good, and where it was difficult I hewed my way with pickaxes of bronze. *Urumi*-trees, trees of the mountain, I cut down, made strong the bridges for the advance of my troops, and crossed the Euphrates. The king of Tumme, the king of Tunube, the king of Tuali, the king of Kindari, the king of Uzula, the king of Unzamuni, the king of Andiabe, the king of Pilakinni, the king of Aturgini, the king of Kulibarzini, the king of Shinibirni, the king of Himua, the king of Paiteri, the king of Uiram, the king of Shururia, the king of Abaeni, the king of Adaeni, the king of Kirini, the king of Albaia, the king of Ugina, the king of Nazabia, the king of Abarsiuni, and the king of Daiaeni,—in all twenty-three kings of the land of Nairî, gathered their chariots and their hosts from out of their lands and advanced to wage war and combat. With the fury of my terrible weapons I attacked them, and brought about the destruction of their widespreading forces, like a flood of Adad. The dead bodies of their warriors I scattered upon the high places of the mountains and alongside their cities like ———. One hundred and twenty of their armored chariots I captured in the midst of the battle. Sixty kings of the countries of Nairî,

together with those who had come to their help, I pursued with the point of my spear even to the Upper Sea. I captured their great cities, (*Col. V*) their booty, their goods and their possessions I brought out; I burnt their cities with fire, I devastated, I destroyed and into heaps and ruins I turned (them). I led away great herds of horses, mules, grazing cattle(?), and the flocks of their pastures, in countless numbers. My hands captured all the kings of the countries of the Nairî. I had mercy on those kings and I spared their lives. (When they were brought) captive and bound into the presence of Shamash, my lord, I set them free, and I caused them to swear an oath of submission (servitude) to my great gods for future days, and forevermore. Their sons, their royal offspring, I took as hostages; twelve hundred horses, and two thousand (head of) cattle I laid as tribute upon them, and I sent them unto their own lands.

237. Sieni, the king of the land of Daiaeni, who had not submitted to Assur, my lord, I brought captive and bound to my city Assur. I had mercy upon him, and sent him away from my city Assur, as a worshiper of the great gods, that he might live and pay reverence (unto them). The broad lands of Nairî in their length and breadth I brought under my sway, and all their kings I brought into subjection at my feet. In the course of this campaign I marched against the city of Milidia, which is in the land of Hanigalbat, (with its) haughty and rebellious (people). They took fright at the approach of my mighty battle array, and embraced my feet. I had mercy upon them and did not capture that city. I took their hostages and one *homer* of magnesium ore for offerings, as a yearly tribute which should never cease, I laid on them.

Paean of praise (*Col. V, ll. 42–43*)

238. Tiglath-pileser, the burning flame, the terrible one, the storm of battle.

Year 4. Against the Aramean tribes about Carchemish (Col. V, ll. 44–63)

239. With the help of Assur, my lord, I led forth my chariots and warriors and went into the desert. Into the midst of the Ahlamî, Arameans, enemies of Assur, my lord, I marched. The country from Suhi to the city of Carchemish, in the land of Hatti, I raided in one day. I slew their troops; their spoil, their goods and their possessions in countless numbers, I carried away. The rest of their forces, which had fled from before the terrible weapons of Assur, my lord, and had crossed over the Euphrates,—in pursuit of them I crossed the Euphrates in vessels made of skins. Six of their cities, which lay at the foot of the mountain of Beshri, I captured, I burned with fire, I laid (them) waste, I destroyed (them). Their spoil, their goods and their possessions I carried away to my city Assur.

Paean of praise (Col. V, ll. 64–66)

240. Tiglath-pileser, who tramples down the proud, who subdues the disobedient, who humbles all the mighty.

Year 5. Against the lands of Musri and the Kumanî (Col. V, l. 67—Col. VI, l. 38)

241. To conquer the land of Musri, Assur the lord sent me, and between the mountains of Elamuni, Tala, and Harusa I marched. I conquered the land of Musri in its length and breadth, their warriors I overthrew, (their)[1] cities I burned with fire, I laid (them) waste, I destroyed (them). The hosts of the land of Kumanî came to the aid of the land of Musri; in the mountains I fought against them and I defeated them. I shut them up in one city, the city of Arini, which is at the foot of the mountain Aisa, and they embraced my feet. That city I spared, hostages (I took), tribute and tax I laid upon them.

[1] So variant.

242. At that time, all the Kumanians who had rallied to the help of the land of Musri pressed all of their lands into service and to wage war and combat they took their stand. In the fury of my terrible weapons I fought against twenty thousand of their widespreading troops in the mountain of Tala, and I defeated them. I broke their mighty confederacy, and pursued them as far as the mountain of Harusa, which is over against the land of Musri, after their defeat. The dead bodies of their warriors I scattered, like a gust of wind(?), on the heights of the mountain; their blood I caused to flow in the valleys and on the high places of the mountain; their great cities I captured, I burned (them) with fire, I laid (them) waste, I destroyed (them) (and turned them) into heaps and ruins.

243. Hunusa, their stronghold, I overthrew, (so that it became) like unto a heap of ruins (after) a flood. (*Col. VI*) I fought fiercely against their dense array, in the city and on the mountains, and I defeated them. Their fighting men I cast down in the midst of the hills, like a gust of wind(?); I cut off their heads like lambs; their blood I caused to flow in the valleys and on the high places of the mountains. That city I captured; their gods I carried away; I brought out their goods and their possessions, and I burned the city with fire. The three great walls of their city, which were strongly built of burnt brick, and the whole of the city I laid waste, I destroyed, I turned into heaps and ruins and I sowed *sipa* thereon. I fashioned a bronze lightning-bolt, and (the tale of) the spoliation of the lands which I had conquered through (the aid of) my god, my lord, and (a decree) that that city should not again be inhabited, and that its wall should not again be built, I inscribed thereon. I built a temple of burnt brick in that place and set up therein the bronze lightning-bolt.

244. (Trusting in) the support of Assur, my lord, I led

out my chariots and my warriors and besieged the city of Kibshuna, their royal city. The king of the Kumanî became frightened at the advance of my mighty battle array, and embraced my feet. I spared his life. I ordered him to destroy the great wall of the city with its piers of burnt brick, and from the foundation unto the coping thereof he destroyed it and turned it into ruins. Furthermore, three hundred families of rebels who (had dwelt) therein, and who had not submitted unto Assur, my lord, he drove forth, and I received them from him; I took his hostages, and laid upon him tribute and tax, greater than (that which had been laid upon him) formerly; and the broad land of the Kumanî, in its length and breadth, I brought into subjection at my feet.

Summary of campaigns (Col. VI, ll. 39–54)

245. In all, forty-two lands and their princes from beyond the Lower Zab,[1] a region of distant hills, unto the further side of the Euphrates, and the land of Hatti and the Upper Sea of the West, from the beginning of my rule up to the fifth year of my reign, my hand has conquered. I have made them to be under one rule; I have taken hostages from them, and have laid tribute and tax upon them.—This does not include many other wars against enemies who could not oppose my might.—I have pursued them in my chariots where the country was good, and on foot where it was difficult. I have kept back the foot of the enemy from my land.

Paean of praise (Col. VI, ll. 55–57)

246. Tiglath-pileser, the valiant hero, who grasps a bow without equal, who exercises lordship over the field.

The king's hunting expeditions (Col. VI, ll. 58–84)

247. The gods Urta and Nergal have given their terrible weapons and their majestic bow into my lordly grasp.

[1] *V.*, Zaban.

At the bidding of Urta, who loves me, four wild bulls (aurochs), which were mighty and of monstrous size, in the desert, in the country of Mitâni, and near to the city of Araziki, which is over against the land of Hatti, with my mighty bow, with my iron spear, and with my sharp darts, I killed. Their hides and their horns I brought unto my city Assur. Ten mighty bull-elephants I slew in the country of Harran, and in the district of the river Habur. Four elephants I caught alive. Their hides and their tusks, together with the live elephants, I brought unto my city Assur.

248. At the bidding of Urta, who loves me, I have slain one hundred and twenty lions by my bold courage and by my strong attack, on foot; and eight hundred lions I have laid low from my chariot with javelins(?). I have brought down all (kinds of) beasts of the field, and birds of the heavens that fly, among my hunting spoils.

The king's peaceful activities

249. Rebuilding of the temples and palaces of Assyria; agricultural improvements; stocking of the land with horses, asses, etc.; planting of parks and gardens; chariot building (Col. VI, l. 85—Col. VII, l. 35):

After I had brought all the enemies of Assur under my rule, I completely rebuilt the temple of the Assyrian Ishtar, my lady, the temple of Amurru, the temple of Bêl-labiru (the elder Bêl), the divine temples, the temples of the gods of my city Assur, which had fallen into ruins. The portals of their temples I set up, and caused the great gods, my lords, to dwell therein. I delighted the hearts of the great gods.

250. The palaces, the royal dwellings, in the great cities of the provinces of my land, which had been deserted from the time of my fathers down through the course of many years, and had decayed and had fallen into ruins, I rebuilt completely.

251. I strengthened the walls of the cities of my land which were in ruins.

252. I put the plows to work throughout the whole of Assyria and heaped up grain in greater quantities than my fathers.

253. Herds of horses, cattle, and asses, (*Col. VII*) which I seized with the help of Assur, my lord, in the lands which I brought under my sway, I have gathered together as the spoil of my hand; and herds of deer, stags, ibex, and wild goats, which Assur and Urta, the gods who love me, have given me for the chase, I have taken in the midst of the lofty hills. Herds of them I gathered and found (*lit.*, counted) their number like unto that of a flock of sheep. Yearly I offered unto Assur, my lord, such of the young wild creatures which were born from them as my heart prompted me (to choose), together with my pure lambs, for sacrifice.

254. I brought cedars, boxwood, and *allakanish*-trees from the countries which I have subdued, trees the like of which none of the kings, my ancient fathers, had ever planted, and I planted them in the gardens of my land. I took rare garden plants, which were not found in my own land, and caused them to flourish in the gardens of Assyria. I increased the output of chariots, (with their) teams over that of former days, for the strengthening of my land. Unto the land of Assyria I added land, unto her peoples, peoples. I have kept good the condition of my people, and in peaceful habitations I have caused them to dwell.

The king's titles and genealogy (*Col. VII, ll. 36–59*)

255. Tiglath-pileser, the exalted prince, whom Assur and Urta have brought unto the desire of his heart, who has pursued the enemies of Assur to their farthest border and has overthrown all the mighty; the son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, the

mighty king, who conquered hostile lands and subdued all the proud.

256. The grandson of Mutakkil-Nusku, whom Assur, the great lord, eagerly chose, following the prompting of his good heart, and duly called him to be the shepherd of Assyria.

257. The lawful descendant of Assur-dân, who swayed a shining scepter and ruled the men of Enlil (Bêl), the deeds of whose hands, and the offering of whose gifts, were well pleasing unto the great gods, and who attained to gray hairs and a ripe old age.

258. The descendant of Urta-apil-Ekur, the powerful king, the beloved of Assur, whose net was spread like a snare over his land, and who firmly shepherded the hosts of Assyria.

Rebuilding of the temple of Anu and Adad (Col. VII, l. 60—Col. VIII, l. 49)

259. At that time the temple of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, which in former days Shamshi-Adad, viceroy of Assur, the son of Ishme-Dagan, viceroy of Assur, had built, and, during the course of six hundred and forty-one years had fallen into decay, and Assur-dân, king of Assyria, the son of Urta-apil-Ekur, king of Assyria, had pulled down that temple and had not rebuilt it:—for sixty years the foundation thereof had not been laid.

260. At the beginning of my reign, Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, who love my priesthood, commanded that I should rebuild their dwelling. I made bricks; I cleared the ground (on which it had stood); I dug down to its foundation and laid its foundation walls upon the firm bed of the mighty mountain. The whole of that place I filled up with brickwork like unto an oven. To a depth of fifty *tipki* (layers of brick) I dug down, and there I laid the limestone foundation of the temple of Anu and Adad. From its foundation unto its top I rebuilt it, and I made it larger than it was be-

fore. I built two mighty temple towers, which were worthy of their great divinities. The holy temple, the lordly structure, their joyful habitation, the dwelling of their delight, which shone as a star in the heavens, being richly adorned by the skill of my craftsmen, I planned with care, I built and completed. The interior thereof I made to shine like the heart of heaven, I made beautiful its walls like the brightness of the rising stars. I made great its piers (*namirê*) and the towers thereof I raised unto heaven. Its upper walls I constructed of burnt brick. The shrine(?) of their divine command I laid down therein. Anu and Adad, the great gods, I led into (its) midst, I caused them to dwell in their lofty habitation, and made glad the hearts of their great divinities.

261. (*Col. VIII*) The treasure(?)-house of Adad, which Shamshi-Adad, viceroy of Assur, the son of Ishme-Dagan, viceroy of Assur, had built, had fallen into decay and was in ruins. I cleared the site thereof, and, from its foundation unto its top I constructed it of burnt brick, and I made it more beautiful and stronger than (it was) before. Therein I offered pure sacrifices unto Adad, my lord.

262. At that time I brought *ka*-stone, *halta*-stone, and *shadanu*-stone from the mountains of the lands of Nairî, which I had conquered with the aid of Assur, my lord, and I placed them forever in the treasure-house of Adad, my lord.

263. Inasmuch as I planned the holy temple, the lofty dwelling, for the habitation of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, and neither tarried nor delayed in the building thereof, but speedily brought it to completion, and (so) made glad the hearts of their great divinities, may Anu and Adad graciously turn unto me, may they take pleasure in the lifting up of my hand, may they give ear unto my fervent supplication. Copious rains, and years of abundance and plenty during my reign, may they grant. May they bring me back in

safety from battle and combat. May they bring into submission under my feet all the lands of my enemies, haughty lands and princes who hate me. And may they shower kindly blessings upon me and upon my priestly seed. May they establish my priesthood before Assur and their great divinities forevermore, firm as a mountain.

264. The (record of) the triumphs of my valor, of the victories of my arms, of the subjugation of the enemy, the foes of Assur, which Anu and Adad have granted unto me as a gift, I inscribed on my (stone) memorial tablet(s) and on my (clay) prism (s), and in the temple of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, I have set them up forever. Furthermore, the memorial tablets of Shamshi-Adad, my father, I anointed with oil, I offered sacrifices, and I restored them unto their place.

Blessings and curses (Col. VIII, ll. 50–88)

265. In the future days, in days to come, let (some) future prince, when that temple of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, and these temple towers, shall grow old and shall fall into decay, repair their ruins. Let him anoint my (stone) memorial tablets and my (clay) prisms with oil, let him offer sacrifices, and restore them unto their place. Let him inscribe his own name by the side of mine. Even as (they have done unto) me, so may Anu and Adad, the great gods, graciously bring him to joy of heart and the attainment of victory.

266. But whosoever shall break my memorial tablets and my prism, or shall deface them, or shall cast them into the water, or shall burn them in the fire, or shall cover them with earth, or shall throw them like ——— into a pesthouse, where they cannot be seen, or shall blot out my name which is written (thereon) and shall inscribe his own name (in place thereof), or shall devise any other evil scheme, to do violence

unto my memorial tablets:—may Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, look upon him in anger, may they curse him with an evil curse; may they overthrow his kingdom; may they uproot the foundations of his royal throne; may they destroy his lordly seed; may they shatter his weapons; may they bring defeat upon his hosts and set him in bonds before his foes. May Adad destroy his land with (his) destructive thunderbolt, and hurl hunger, famine, want, and bloodshed upon his land; may he command that he shall not live one day (longer), and may he destroy his name and his seed from the land.

Date (Col. VIII, ll. 89–90)

267. The twenty-ninth day of the month of *Simânu* (*Kusallu*), eponymy of Ina-ilia-allak, the Rab-bilul.

II. ROCK INSCRIPTIONS

268. Unfortunately no annalistic account of Tiglath-pileser's activities subsequent to the fifth year of his reign has yet come to light. But that the five years of campaigning, so fully described in the prism inscription, were but the beginning of the great struggle waged by the Assyrian for the mastery of his world, is attested by numerous shorter texts as well as by the Synchronous History. At the close of a third campaign against the lands of Nairî, he carved his image and inscription on the rocks at Sebeneh-Su, near the sources of the Tigris. The conquest of the Ahlamê Arameans, along the Euphrates, required at least twenty-eight crossings of that stream. Amurru (Syria) was subdued and the tribute from the coast cities, and cedar from the Lebanons, went into the palaces and temples of Assyria. And, finally, after one abortive effort, Karduniash was subjugated.

269. The two rock inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser are given by Lehmann-Haupt in his *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens*, Nos. 6 and 7. The earlier publications of these texts are there indicated (cf. also King, *AKA*, p. 127 n.). The first of the inscriptions was probably in commemoration of his first campaign against the Nairî-lands (year 3, see § 236), the second, as the inscription itself states, was executed after his third campaign.

Gonjalu (Melazgerd) inscription

270. 1. Tiglath-pileser, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world), conqueror of the lands of Nairî, from Tummi to Daiani, conqueror of Kirhi to the Great Sea.

Sebeneh-Su inscription

271. 2. With the help of Assur, Shamash (and) Adad, the great gods, my lords, I, Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Mutakkil-Nusku, king of Assyria,—conqueror from the Great Sea of Amurru and the sea of Nairî, I have marched for the third time against Nairî.

III. REBUILDING OF THE ROYAL PALACE AT ASSUR

272. 1. From some fragments of clay tablets in the British Museum and others found at Assur (Kalat Sherkat) by the German excavators, it is possible to reconstruct most of the introductory paragraphs of an inscription recording the rebuilding of the royal palace. The text of the first-mentioned tablets was published in IIIR, Plate 5, Nos. 1–5, and again in *AKA*, pp. 109 f.; that of the latter in *KAH*, II, No. 73.[1]

273. Tiglath-pileser, the mighty king, [king of the universe, who is without a rival], king of all the four regions (of the world), who consumes [all of his foes], the pious one, who adorns Ekur, favorite of Assur, strong and unsparing, who marches (hither and yon), trusting in Assur and Urta, [the great gods], his lords, and overthrows his foes. Exalted ⌜prince⌝, whose hand at the command of Shamash, the hero, has conquered from Babylon of Akkad [to] the Upper Sea of Amurru, and the sea of the Nairî-land, in mighty combat, and has brought all under his sway. Mighty torch(?), at the onset of whose terrible arms the four regions (of the world) shook and the habitations (of earth) trembled. And the

[1] *KAH*, II, 63, furnishes some aid in the restoration of certain passages.

wicked enemies of Assur he brought to defeat in battle. He was like the raging storm. Mighty despot[1] . . . . . Terrible lord[1] who . . . . . all the princes of the (four) regions (of the world) in(?) battle . . . . . like . . . . . goes about and ⌜overthrows(?) the insubmissive(?)⌝[1]

274. [Son of Assur-rêsh]-ishi, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Mutakkil-Nusku, king of the universe, king of [Assyria].

275. [At that time, the third time(?) against the lands] of Nairî I marched. The wide lands of Nairî from ⌜Tumme to Daiaeni⌝ ⌜I conquered⌝ . . . . . Himua, ⌜Paiteri and Kirhi I conquered]. [X] horses, broken to the yoke, I [received] as their tribute.

276. . . . . . ⌜from⌝ Mushki . . . . . in the midst of ⌜battle⌝ . . . . . ⌜my hand⌝ conquered. Their ⌜battling⌝ warriors I ⌜scattered⌝ over the barren plain at the ⌜point of the lance.⌝

277. . . . . . the ⌜Urumai,⌝ the Abeshlai, [—Hittite people who were not submissive—], I carried off and ⌜reckoned them as people of my land.⌝

278. . . . . . Salua, the Lulumê-land, in its ⌜entirety⌝, [Kumeni, Kutmuhi], and Alzi, I ⌜conquered⌝, [to their farthest border].

(*Rest of Obv. wanting.*)

(*Only few signs of first four lines of Rev. left.*)

279. That [palace], from its foundation [to its top, I completely rebuilt]. I made it more splendid than it was before. . . . . with copper I inclosed. Door-leaves of fir [I made, with bands of copper] I covered (bound) them and I ⌜hung (them)⌝ in its gate (door).

280. . . . . . who with the aid of Assur, Anu, Enlil (Bêl) . . . . , [the great gods⌝, my allies, ... the lands of . . . . . my hand [has conquered] . . . . . [a

[1] These may have been variants on different fragments.

live] *burhish* which from the land of ⌜Luma(?)⌝ . . . . . of alabaster . . . . . my royalty . . . . . and my steles I inscribed . . . . . in joy of heart. . . . . "Palace of the King of the Four Regions," I called its name.

281. [In days to come, for] all time, when ⌜that palace⌝ [shall become old, *etc.*, ...] . . . (*two lines almost completely gone*) . . . . . my memorial steles, ... let him offer sacrifices and [return them to their place⌝ . . . . . Ishtar, lady . . . . . .

282. *KAH*, No. 73, has the date:

Month *Hibur*, which is the time of the month *Kislimu*, the eighteenth day, the eponymy of Taklak-ana-Assur.

The fragment K 2805 was dated on the twenty-eighth day of some month.

283. 2. The inscription on fragments of an eight-sided prism, published in *KAH*, II, No. 63, may also have commemorated the rebuilding of the palace.

284. (*Col. I*) . . . . . .[1] shook and the habitations (of earth) trembled. And the wicked enemies of Assur he brought to defeat in battle, and he was like the raging storm. Terrible lord, whose ⌜frightful warfare⌝ has . . . . . all the princes of the four regions (of the world) . . . . . .

285. (*Col. II*) . . . . . and . . . . . the land of the Lulumê in its entirety, the lands of the Salua, Kumeni, Kutmuhi, and Alzi, to their farthest border, I conquered.

286. At the command of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, I marched to the Lebanon Mountains. . . . . (*Col. III*) . . . . . its (their?) plunder I carried off and brought (it) to my land.

287. For the twenty-eighth time, in pursuit of the Ahlamê Arameans, I crossed the Euphrates,—the second time in one year. From Tadmar of Amurru, Anat of Suhi, even as far as

[1] The opening lines were in part like those of the introduction of the preceding text.

Rapiku of Karduniash (Babylonia) I defeated them. . . . . .

Col. IV . . . . . including their fortresses, I captured (them), multitudes of them I slew. Their booty which was countless, I carried off.

288. I captured the palaces[1] of (the city of) Babylon, belonging to Marduk-nâdin-ahi, king of Karduniash (Babylonia). With fire I burned (them).

289. In the eponymy of Assur-nâdin- . . . . . (and) in the eponymy of Ninuaia to (against) . . . . . .

290. (*Col. V*) . . . . . I established. In . . . . . a second time . . . . . totally I surrounded. The palace (or temple) of . . . . . ruined . . . . . in . . . . . from its foundation to its top I constructed. Limestone . . . . . totally . . . . . .

(*Col. VI*) . . . . . king of the universe, king [of Assyria] . . . . . .

IV. INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE *BÎT-LABUNI*

291. Two inscriptions from the *bît-labuni* tell of the defeat of Marduk-nâdin-ahi, the Babylonian king, after a second battle (texts, *KAH*, II, Nos. 66 and 67).

292. 1. (No. 66) . . . . . the land of Hatti . . . . . Upon Ili-[Teshub, king] of great Hatti, ... I received. The city of Enzata of the land of . . . . . I plundered, to my land I brought . . . . . [For the twenty-eighth time] I crossed the Euphrates,—the second time in one year. [From Tadmar of Amurru,] Anat of Suhi, even as far as Rapiku [of Karduniash] I defeated them, their plunder (and) goods [I carried off.]

293. Against Karduniash I marched. From the other side of the [Lower Zab,] the city of Arman, the plain of Salum, as far as Lubdi, I conquered. I crossed [the Radana.] The cities

[1] Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 66, regards this as a place-name, Ekallate, "The Palaces," evidently identifying it with the city of this name of Sargon's day.

at the foot of Mount Kamulla (and) Mount Kashtilla I captured. Their property I brought out, to my city Assur I carried it.

294. In that (same) [year] I marched against Suhi. The city Sapirata, which [is on an island in the Euphrates,] as well as the city of Hindani, all the cities of Suhi, I ⌜captured⌝, their spoil I carried off; their many gods and . . . . . I carried off to my city Assur.

295. At the command of [Assur and Urta] against Karduniash (Babylonia) I marched. The city of ⌜Dur-Kurigalzu⌝, Sippar of Shamash, Sippar of Annunitum, [Babylon and Opis,] which is on the other (far) side of the Tigris, cities . . . . . together with their fortresses I captured; multitudes of ⌜them I slew,] countless booty of theirs [I carried off. The palaces] of Babylon, belonging to Marduk-nâdin-ahi, [king of Karduniash], I captured. With fire I burned them.

296. In the eponymy of Assur-nâdin- . . . . . and in the eponymy of Ninuaia, the second time I drew up the line of [chariots against Marduk-nâdin-ahi,] king of Karduniash, and I smote him.

297. The *bît-labuni*, which Tukulti-Urta, my ancestor, priest of Assur, [had built,] and the wall, together with its *gittâti*, which [had been consumed by the flames(?)[1], the old . . . . . which are before the *bît-labuni*, which Assur-nâdin-ahi, a prince who went before me, had made,—the court of the *bît-*[*labuni*] I laid; its foundation with limestone like the structure of the mountains, I ⌜strengthened⌝. I made it . . . . . long; $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet,[1] I made it wide; 6 each in . . . . . Its cracks I smoothed over, with cedar and . . . . . -logs, (for) which, at the command of Assur and Anu, the great gods, my lords, I went [to the Lebanon Mountains] (where) I cut down, and (whence) I brought these

[1] *Or, perhaps*, paces. Neither the foot, nor the pace, are used in the Assyrian mensuration tables.

splendid beams of the temple of . . . . . , where the great gods, my lords, continually abide. With the rest of these ⌜cedars and . . . . .,] from its foundation to its roof I constructed it; [with . . . . . .] in its entirety I surrounded it. The *bît-labuni*, [from its foundation] to its top, I constructed it. With burnt brick . . . . . I surrounded it. That palace with . . . . . I made glorious, I beautified, ...

298. 2. (No. 67) . . . . . I (re)built . . . . . the *bît-labuni* . . . . . [Its cracks] I smoothed over. With boxwood [and . . . . .] which I cut in Mount Lebanon, and . . . . . from its foundation to its top I constructed it. . . . . its breaches (cracks) with *tarpi'*-wood I restored . . . . . its ——— with alabaster totally . . . . . I beautified. Its walls and pegs for garments, for its decoration . . . . . in that terrace for . . . . . [a live *burhish*] which from the land of Luma(?) . . . . . A *nahiru* which (they call) a horse of the sea, [they sent] . . . . . which Urta and Nergal . . . . . the god . . . . . of Amurru . . . . . .

V. REBUILDING OF THE ANU-ADAD TEMPLE

299. From a large number of fragments of clay tablets it was possible to reconstruct the opening paragraphs of inscriptions that may have commemorated the rebuilding of the Anu-Adad temple. The text is published in *KAH*, II, Nos. 68, 71, and 71*a*.

300. 1. (No. 68) Tiglath-pileser, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of all the four regions (of the world), mighty hero, who marched hither and yon under the protection of Assur and Urta, the great gods, his lords, and overthrew his foes; son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Mutakkil-Nusku, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

301. At the command of Assur, my lord, from the other

side of the Lower Zab to the Upper Sea of the setting sun, my hand conquered. The third time I went against the Nairî-lands; the widespread Nairî-lands from Tumme to Daiaeni, the land of Himua [even as far as] Paiteru, and Kirhi, I conquered. 30 kings of the Nairî-lands I brought in submission at my feet; I took hostages from them. Horses, broken to the yoke, I received as their gifts. Tribute and toll I imposed upon them.

302. To Mount Lebanon I went. Logs of cedar for the temple of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, I cut and brought away. Against Amurru I returned. Amurru in its entirety I conquered. The tribute of Gubal (Gebail), Sidon and Arvad I received. I crossed over in ships of Arvad, from Arvad, which is on the seashore, to Samuri[1] of the land of Amurru, a journey of 3 "double-hours" (*bêru*), by land. I killed a *nahiru*, which they call a "sea-horse," in the midst of the sea.

303. And on my return ⌜I conquered⌝ [Amurru] in its entirety. Tribute [and toll I imposed].

304. 2. (No. 71) [Tiglath-pileser, *etc.*, ...], son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Mutakkil-Nusku, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

305. The third time I went against the Nairî-lands. The Nairî-lands from Tumme to Daiaeni, Himua, Paiteri and Kirhi I conquered. Horses, broken to the yoke, I received as their tribute.

306. At the command of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, I went (and) cut logs of cedar for the temple of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, and I brought (them to Assyria). Against Amurru I returned. Amurru in its totality I conquered. I received the tribute of Arvad. The (tribute) of the seacoast I received, and on my return I

[1] The Sumur of the Amarna Letters and the Egyptian records.

brought the land of Hatti in its entirety under my sway. I imposed tribute and (a levy of) logs of cedar upon Ili-Teshub, king of great Hatti.

307. Against the city of Milidê of great Hatti I proceeded. I received the tribute of . . . . . .

308. For the twenty-eighth time I crossed the Euphrates, in pursuit of (*lit.*, back of) the Ahlamê Arameans,—the second time in one year. From Tadmar of Amurru, Anat of Suhi, even to Rapiku of Karduniash, I defeated them. Their booty and their goods I carried away to my city Assur.

309. I marched against Karduniash. Dûr-Kurigalzu, Sippar of Shamash, Sippar of Anunîtum, Babylon, and Opis, which is on that (the far, east) side of the Tigris, together with their fortresses, I captured. I killed multitudes of them. Their booty, without number, I carried off. I captured the palaces of Babylon, belonging to Marduk-nâdin-ahi, king of Karduniash, with fire I burned (them). The possessions of his palaces I carried off. The second time I drew up the line of battle chariots against Marduk-nâdin-ahi, king of Karduniash, and I smote him.

310. I marched against Suhi. Sapirata which is (on an island) in the Euphrates, as well as Hindani, all the cities of Suhi, I captured. Their orchards I cut down, their . . . . . I captured. Their booty I carried off. Their many gods and their goods I brought to my city Assur.

311. 3. The following lines (*KAH*, II, No. 71*a*) were inserted in some duplicates after the second paragraph of the preceding text:

22,000 warriors of their widespreading ⌜lands⌝ my hand captured in the midst of battle. The bodies of their warriors . . . . . which at the point of my spear . . . . . I . . . . . The Urumai (and) Abeshlai, people of Hatti, who were not submissive, I seized, to the people of my land I counted them out.

312. I conquered the land of the Lulumê in its entirety, Salua, Kumeni, Kutmuhi and Alzi to their farthest border.

313. 4. Paving bricks from the temple of Anu and Adad had the following inscription (text, *KAH*, II, No. 65):

Tiglath-pileser, priest of Assur; son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, priest of Assur: the temple of Anu and Adad, his lords, he has (re)built and strengthened.

314. 5. A brick inscription from Kalat Sherkat (British Museum, No. 90,252) was published in IR, Plate 6, No. 5, and again in *AKA*, p. 127.

Tiglath-pileser, priest of Assur, son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, priest of Assur, has built the temple of Adad, his lord, and has strengthened it.

VI. STELE ERECTED AT ASSUR

315. Tiglath-pileser's memorial stele at Assur bore the simple inscription (Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, pp. 21 f.):

Stele (image) of ⌜Tiglath⌝-pileser, [son of] ⌜Assur-rêsh⌝-ishi.

VII. VASE INSCRIPTION OF PIRHU-LISHIR, SERVANT OF TIGLATH-PILESER

316. The text of an inscription on a dedicatory vase (from Assur) is published in *KAH*, II, No. 64.

From the office (*lit.*, house of seals) of the accounts of the brewers, belonging to the temple of Assur, which is under the hand of Pirhu-lishir, the chief of the fixed dues of the Assur temple, servant of Tiglath-pileser, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

VIII. RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE OF ISHTAR AT NINEVEH

317. The temple of Ishtar, at Nineveh, was restored by Tiglath-pileser in or after the tenth year of his reign. This we learn from some fragments of tablets in the British Museum (K 2804, 2806, 2807), published in *AKA*, pp. 116 ff.

318. 1. (K 2806, K 2804) . . . . . the widespreading armies of the Mushki . . . . . I brought down . . . . . within the border of my land I brought (*lit.*, turned) it . . . . . I subjugated. 4,000 of the Urumai and Abeshlai, —Hittite people who were not submissive, [I carried off] and reckoned them [as people of my land]. The land of the Lulumê, in its entirety I conquered. Twenty-five of their gods . . . . . to the gods of my city Assur, and the goddesses of my land, I presented . . . . . unto Adad, my lord, I gave (as a gift).

319. . . . . The wide lands of Nairî, from Tumme to Daiaeni and the Upper Sea, ... I conquered. Thirty of their kings I brought in submission to my feet and I placed rings into their noses, like bulls, and I betook myself to my city of Assur. Tribute and tax I imposed upon them.

320. [From Suhi] unto Carchemish, of the land of Hatti, I raided in one day. In pursuit of them I crossed the Euphrates in vessels [made of skins]. Six of their cities [which lay at the foot of the mountain of Beshri[1] I captured. Their spoil, their goods and their possessions I carried away to my city Assur.

321. . . . . [the land of Kumani[1] as far as Mount Mehri I conquered. The city of Hunusa . . . . . I overthrew, to tells and ruins I turned it and I scattered *sipa*-(stones) upon it . . . . . the great royal city [I overwhelmed] like the deluge, to tells and ruins I turned it. . . . . to my city Assur . . . . . who trusted in boldness and strength . . . . . and siege engines I captured it. 2,000 of their captives, ... them. 20,000 of the warriors of Kumanî . . . . . into the border of my land, above and below (*i.e.*, north and south) I turned.

(*At the end of K 2804 stands the following:*)

322. . . . . I have marched . . . . . .

the Lower Zab as far as . . . . . sea of the setting sun in the 10 years of my reign, ... hostages I took from them, and laid tribute upon them . . . . . and caused them to dwell in habitations of peace. . . . . .

. . . . the temple of Ishtar . . . . . .

323. 2. (K 2807) . . . . . Karduniash(?) . . . . . to my city Assur I brought . . . . .

324. . . . . . the city—irdi, cities of ⌜Kumanî(?)⌝ . . . . . they withheld; who tribute and gifts . . . . . who from the earliest times had not known submission, into whose midst no king [among the kings my fathers] had come. . . . . (My) chariots and my armies I mustered . . . . . the cities of Matkiu, ⌜Sudrun⌝ . . . . . Arruhundu, Sâka, ... Inishti, Sâkama . . . . . .—tun, Shuria, and Na . . . . . the city of . . . . . .—hirdi, cities of . . . . . the cities of Lûa, Hirishtu, ... 14 cities in all, I captured. . . . . their ⌜spoil⌝, their goods [and their possessions] I carried away to my [city Assur].

325. (*Rev.*) . . . . . against the land of the Lulumê I marched . . . . . the cities of Matkia and Andaria . . . . . the land of ⌜Adaush⌝ which is this side of . . . . . the Lower Zab, I captured . . . . . the wide land of the Lulumê and Adaush . . . . . I brought in submission to my feet . . . . . tribute and tax I imposed upon them.

326. [At that time the temple of Ishtar], my lady, which Shamshi-Adad . . . . . who lived before me, had restored, ... it fell into ruins, and Assur-uballit [restored it]. Again it fell into ruins and Shalmaneser [restored it] . . . . . it fell into ruins and its terrace . . . . . Ishtar, my lady, ... anew . . . . . I made it splendid and added thereto(?).

(*Rest of Rev. gone.*)

IX. FRAGMENTS OF TEXTS

327. The following fragmentary texts cannot be dated or assigned to any particular dedicatory inscription. Some may not even be Tiglath-pileser inscriptions (*KAH*, II, No. 69; *ibid.*, No. 74; *ibid.*, No. 75; *ibid.*, No. 72; *ibid.*, No. 70; *ibid.*, No. 78).

328. 1. (No. 64) . . . . . the land of Amurru in [its] entirety [I conquered]. [Gebail[1] (Byblos), Sidon [and Arvad sent tribute] . . . . . I caught a great *pagutu* . . . . . on my return. . . . . Tribute, taxes and logs of cedar . . . . . on the Hittite-land I imposed.

329. Against . . . . . I went. The taxes which I . . . . . of the land of Ishua and Suh— . . . . . I carried off and brought to my land.

330. [For the twenty-eighth time] I crossed the Euphrates,—the second time in one year. [From Tadmar of Amurru], Anat of Suhi, [as far as Rapiku] of Karduniash, I accomplished their defeat. . . . . to my city Assur, I brought.

331. . . . . . from the other side of the Lower Zab . . . . . Lubdi, I conquered. The Radana [I crossed]. The cities at the feet of Mount Kamulla and of Mount Kashtilla I captured. Their property I carried off and brought it to my city Assur.

332. [The same year] I marched [against Suhi]. The city of Sapirata. . . . . .

333. 2. (No. 74) . . . . . the royal throne . . . . . of Urta . . . . . chariots . . . . . chariots and soldiers . . . . . heaven; smiting with the thunderbolt . . . . . before me, did not come . . . . . their difficult ways . . . . . with bronze pickaxes, I cut, ... to their [remote] districts . . . . . in Uruadri . . . . . Bargun, Mel . . . . . .

their numerous gifts . . . . . like a storm over them . . . . . I seized. In . . . . . against . . . . a prince. . . . . .

334. 3. (No. 75) . . . . . which . . . . . [At the beginning] of my reign . . . . . mighty forces . . . . . strong hero, whom Assur . . . . . difficult roads(?) . . . . . knees, they did (could) not go . . . . . they went; [barren] regions . . . . . had not gone . . . . . months . . . . . with bronze pick axes, [I cut] . . . . . into the remote regions I penetrated.

The cities Kukiaba, ⌜Adarra⌝ . . . . . Ishtaiaun. Ikki- . . . . . Tarraba, Zurzura . . . . . Ishtamnia, Ara- . . . . . Iabliunu, Ma- . . . . . Hirishtu, ... Hibbu, Ha- . . . . . -zikunu. . . . . .

335. 4. (No. 72) . . . . . against his city . . . . . them. In . . . . . they slew. In . . . . . against (?over) them . . . . . of the land of Adaush . . . . . the governor of that (?) city . . . . . my (?) . . . . Of the land of Adaush . . . . . like (?) a city and . . . . . to Adaush I(?) entered. . . . . .

336. 5. (No. 70) Tiglath-pileser . . . . . king of all the [four] regions (of the world) . . . . . who under the protection of . . . . . the king who like a storm (?) onset . . . . . the fire-god (Girru). . . . . .

337. 6. (No. 78) . . . . . horses . . . . . my . . . . . of my priesthood . . . . . (which) they commanded . . . . . I killed, 1,600 . . . . . mighty . . . . I(?) seized.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SUCCESSORS OF TIGLATH-PILESER I

I. URTA-APIL-EKUR II

338. The broken text on the fragment of a vase may be assigned tentatively to Urta-apil-Ekur II, usurping successor to Tiglath-pileser on the Assyrian throne. Text published in *KAH*, II, No. 76.

. . . . . Urta-apil-Ekur, king of the universe . . . . . priest of Enlil and Urta.

II. ASSUR-BÊL-KALA

339. Probably after a long struggle, Assur-bêl-kala, son of Tiglath-pileser, gained the throne. His inscription, written on the back of the torso of a female statue preserved in the British Museum, seems to have been intended for his city governors, as a reminder of their allegiance to him. The text was published in IR, Plate 6, No. 6, and again in *AKA*, pp. 152 ff.

340. The palace of Assur-bêl-[kala, king of the universe, the mighty king, king of Assyria], son of Tiglath-pileser, king of [the universe,] the mighty [king, king of Assyria], the son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, king of the universe, [the mighty king, king of] Assyria.

These statues[1] . . . . among the rulers of cities(?) and the curses(?) thereon I have fashioned(?) . . . . . Whosoever shall alter my inscription or my name, may the god [Hanish] (and) the gods of the land of Amurru smite him in open battle.

341. In *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, III, No. 126, Ebeling published two fragments of what he believed to be a religious text. But Schroeder (*OLZ*, XX [1917], 305) has shown that the second fragment is part of a historical inscription of Assur-bêl-kala.[2]

[1] The word seems to mean "bust."

[2] For a stele which may have been that of Assur-bêl-kala, see Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, pp. 35 f.

Assur-bêl-kala . . . . . the king without a rival . . . . . viceroy, lord of lands . . . . . whom Assur, Enlil . . . . . the rule of the land of Assyria . . . . . the lands . . . . . ⌜who shatters⌝ . . . .

III. SHAMSHI-ADAD IV

342. Another son of Tiglath-pileser named Shamshi-Adad (IV) has left us some building inscriptions. Their text, from bowl fragments in the British Museum, was published in IIIR, Plate 3, No. 9, and again in *AKA*, pp. 150 ff. A second broken text is published in *KAH*, II, No. 79.

343. 1. Shamshi-Adad, [the mighty king, king of the universe, king of] Assyria, the son of Tiglath-[pileser, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of] Assyria, the son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, [the mighty king, king of the universe, king of] Assyria. When the *bît-nameru* . . . . which a prince, who went before me, [had built, had fallen to decay, I repaired it]. ⌜A memorial stele⌝ for future days I inscribed and in . . . . [have I set up] . . . . . the land of Assyria.

344. 2. To Assur, his lord . . . . . Shamshi-Adad, prefect of Enlil] . . . . . son of Tiglath-pileser . . . . . son of Assur-rêsh-ishi . . . . . for his life, the welfare of his city, has presented. In . . . . . whether to the house of god or to the house of . . . . . or to the house of . . . . . they take him(?) . . . . . to the place which . . . . . .

IV. ERÎBA-ADAD II.

344A. From the reign of Erîba-Adad II, *ca.* 1050 B.C., hardly from that of Erîba-Adad I (cf. §§ 53 f.) comes the text K 2693, published by Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, III, 248. It commemorated the restoration of Eharsagkurkurra.

344B. Erîba-Adad, the great king, ... , king of the four regions (of the world), illustrious . . . . . , led by the hand of Urta(?), favored by Enlil (Bêl), mighty hero, ... the faithless, shattering . . . . . , mighty torch(?) which . . . . . the proud . . . . . regions . . . . . .

mountains and haughty enemies . . . . . of the storm, like a hurricane . . . . . the insubmissive, ... the god Ea(?) . . . . . (*Rev.*) . . . . . conqueror of . . . . . countless(?) . . . . . the king, its structure . . . . . Eharsagkurkurra . . . . . .

V. ASSUR-NÂSIR-PAL I AND SHALMANESER II

345. Brick inscriptions of Assur-nâsir-pal I and his son Shalmaneser II are published in *KAH*, II, Nos. 80 and 81. The stele inscription of Shalmaneser is published in Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, pp. 23 f.

1. Palace of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Shamshi-Adad, king of Assyria.

346. 2. Palace of Shalmaneser, prefect of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur, son of Assur-nâsir-pal, prefect of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur.

347. 3. Stele of Shalmaneser, the great king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Shamshi-Adad, king of Assyria.

VI. ASSUR-RÊSH-ISHI II

348. From Assur we have the stele inscription of Assur-rêsh-ishi, son of Assur-rabi (Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, p. 22).

Stele of Assur-rêsh-ishi, king of Assyria, son of Assur-rabi, king of Assyria.

VII. ASSUR-DÂN II

349. From Assur-dân II we have a brick inscription from the palace at Assur (*KAH*, II, No. 82), a *zigatu*-inscription commemorating the restoration of the Metal-Workers' Gate (Andrae, *Fest.*, pp. 166 f., Tafel XCV), and a dedicatory inscription to Assur (*KAH*, I, No. 20).

350. 1. Palace of Assur-dân, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Tiglath-pileser (II), the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son Assur-rêsh-ishi, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of of Assyria; (great-grand)son of Assur-rabi, the mighty king, the king of the universe, king of Assyria.

351. 2. Assur-dân, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tiglath-pileser (II), the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (great-grand)son of Assur-rabi, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

352. At that time that Gurgurri Gate (Metal-Workers' Gate) which aforetime Tiglath-pileser (I), priest of Assur, son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, priest of Assur, (grand)son of Mutakkil-Nusku, the priest, the prince, who lived before my (time), had built,—that gate had fallen to ruins. Its ruins I cleared away. I cleansed its site, I went down to its foundation. From its foundation (walls) to its top I rebuilt, I completed it. I made it more splendid than it was before.

At that time I (also) made *kubartu* and *sakku* (vessels) and put them on the top of the gate of my city.

353. In the days to come, for all time, when that Gurgurri Gate shall become old and fall to decay, may (some) future prince restore its ruins, may he return my inscribed name to its place. (Then) Assur, Adad, Sin and Shamash, (as well as) Ishtar, the great gods, will hear his prayers.

Month of *Tashritu*, first day, eponymy of ⌜Arrutu⌝, son of ⌜Nazimuru(?)⌝.

354. 3. To Assur, father of the great gods, his lord, Assur-dân, viceroy of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur, son of Tiglath-pileser (II), viceroy of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur, (grand)son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, viceroy of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur, (great-grand)son of Assur-rabi, viceroy of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur; . . . . . .days . . . . . .

CHAPTER IX

ADAD-NIRÂRI II

I. THE ANNALS

355. Of the greatest importance to the historian was the recovery by the German excavator at Assur of the annals of Adad-nirâri II (911–891 B.C.). These annals form the long introduction to a short text commemorating the rebuilding of the temple of Gula, founded by Tukulti-Urta I, Adad-nirâri's "ancestor." The text is published in *KAH*, II, No. 84.

356. . . . . . Shamash, judge of heaven and earth, director of all (things); Adad, leader of the gods, lord of oracles (laws); Urta, ruler of the Igigi and Annunaki; Nergal, the perfect (in strength), king of battle; Nusku, who bears a shining staff, the god who renders (divine) decisions; Ninlil, wife of Enlil (Bêl), mother of the great gods; Ishtar, first in heaven and earth, who fills full the measure of bravery; the great gods, who carry out decrees, who decide fate,—Adad-nirâri, the exalted prince, they have duly created; . . . . . [my lowly birth(?)[1] to a lordly birth they have changed; the state of my members they have brought to perfection, so that my lordly body "heaped up wisdom." Afterward the great gods uttered their decree and put into my hand a scepter, (called) "Ruler of Peoples"; they carried the splendor of [my] kingship far beyond that of the (other) kings who wear the crown; they crowned (me) with surpassing renown; they made my name exceeding great, above that of all princes. Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria, they called me. Mighty king, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world), the Sun of all peoples, am I.

357. Son of Assur-dân, prefect of Enlil (Bêl), priest of

Assur, who slew all his enemies, and (grand)son of Tiglath-pileser, king [of Assyria]; illustrious offspring of Assur-rêsh-ishi, the warrior king, who trampled down the wicked.

358. In these days, when at the command of the great gods, my lordly sovereignty (*lit.*, kingship and lordship) has manifested itself, going forth to plunder the goods of the lands, I am royal, I am lordly, I am mighty, I am honored, I am exalted, I am glorified, I am powerful, I am all powerful, I am brilliant, I am lion-brave, I am manly, I am supreme, I am noble (*v.*, I am violent).

359. Adad-nirâri, the mighty king, the king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world), who slays his enemies, am I. The king, powerful in battle, who overthrows cities, who burns the mountains of the lands, am I. Strong hero, who consumes his enemies(?), who burns up the wicked and the evil, am I. Like fire I burn, like the storm I cast down, ... who has no conqueror (none who can subdue him). Like the heavy staff of a spear, like a sharp(?) dagger, I slay the wicked. Like the onset of a storm, I press on(?). Like an evil downpour, I rage; like . . . . . offspring(?), I tear up. Like a net, I entangle, like a bird snare, I imprison. At the mention of my mighty name, the princes of the four regions (of the world) trembled like a "storm-cord." At my undertaking a march, their foundation ⌜was shaken(?)⌝ like *kiti* and *metê*.

360. Mighty hero, who marched with the help of Assur, his lord, from the other side of the Lower Zab, (by) the borders of the Lulumê-land, of Kirhi, and of Zamua, as far as the passes of the land of Namri, and brought in submission to his feet the widespread Kumanê, as far as the lands of Mehri, Salua and Uradri (Armenia); who brought under his sway Kutmuhi in its entirety and added (*lit.*, turned) it to the border of his land. Conqueror of Karduniash (Babylonia) in its entirety, who established the overthrow of Shamash-

mudammik, king of Karduniash, from Ialman to the river of Dûr-ilani;—(the land) from Lahiru to the plain of Salum was added to the territory of Assyria. The land of Dêr I conquered in its entirety. Arrapha, Lubda, strongholds of Karduniash, I restored to the territory of Assyria.

361. And (I am he) who, for the fourth time, went against the Nairî-lands and conquered with his hand Kirhi, which lies inside (and) the cities of Nahu and Ashnahu(?); and who crossed over mighty mountains and conquered the cities of the land of Nadbi and I overturned the land of Alzi in its entirety so that it became like a ruin left by a flood. Their hostages I took, tribute and tax I imposed upon them.

362. The defeat of the desert folk, the Ahlamê Arameans, was accomplished; the tribute of Suhi was received. (I am he) who returned the cities of Hit, (Idu, and) Zakku, strongholds of Assyria, to the territory of his land. The cities of Arinu, Turhu, Zaduri, the confederacy(?) of Shuprê, were torn from Assyria. The old city of Apku, which the kings who went before me had built, had fallen to decay and was turned to a mound of ruins. That city I rebuilt. From its foundation to its top I repaired and finished it. I made it beautiful, I made it splendid, I made it greater than it had been before. My royal palace, a surpassing (structure), I built therein.

363. In the eponymy of Dûr-mâti-Assur, I marched against the wide land of Hanigalbat. Nur-Adad, the Temanite, mustered his hosts. By (in) the city of Pa'zi, which is at the foot of Mount Kashiari, we drew up the battle line; we battled with one another. From Pa'zi to Nasibina, I accomplished their defeat. Multitudes of his chariots I carried off.

364. In the eponymy of Ekâia, I marched against Hanigalbat the second time. By (in) Nasibina I fought with him. With the blood of his warriors I dyed the plain. I entered the city of Iaridi. The crops of its land I reaped. I counted

the city of Saraku as my own. Grain and straw I heaped up therein.

365. In the eponymy of Ninuaia, I marched against Hanigalbat the third time. I took the city of Huzirina. (Its) wall I leveled flat (with the ground). The cities at the foot of Mount Kashiari, which Mamli, the Temanite, had taken, seized my feet; his palaces I counted as my own. At that time I received a great *pagutu* and a small *pagutu*, products of the land of Tur-adini[1] which is situated on the bank of the Euphrates.

366. In the eponymy of Likberu, I marched against Hanigalbat for the fourth time. Then Mukuru, the Temanite, became afraid of the curse of the great gods, and forced me into battle and combat. He put his trust in his fortified city, his mighty bow, his widespreading hosts, and the Arime (the Arameans), and broke (the treaty) with me. I mustered my chariots and armies. Against Gidara, which the Arameans call Ratammatu, and which since (the days of) Tiglath-pileser, son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, king of Assyria, a prince who went before me, the Arameans had held by force, I marched. In the wisdom of my heart, such as (*lit.*, which) did not exist among the kings, my fathers, I overthrew the cities round about it. In order to level that city of his to the ground, I dug a ditch (around) it. Before my terrible arms, the violent and mighty onsets of my attack, they became afraid and with a powerful (or brave) assault I entered into Ratammatu against that one. I brought him down out of his palace. His possessions, valuable mountain stone (crystal), his chariots, horses, his wives, his sons, his daughters, an enormous booty, he collected in front of me. On him and his brothers,—with bonds of copper I had them bound, to my city Assur I brought (them). The might and power of Assur, my lord, I established over Hanigalbat.

[1] Perhaps Mâr-Adini.

367. In the eponymy of Adad-ah-iddina, governor of Assur, I marched against Hanigalbat for the fifth time. The tribute of the lands I received.

368. In the eponymy of Adad-dân, with the fury of my mighty weapons I proceeded against Hanigalbat the sixth time. Nur-Adad, the Temanite, I shut up in Nasibina. Seven cities round about it I overthrew. Assur-dîni-amur, the tartan, I caused to remain there (*lit.*, dwell therein). A moat such as had never existed before, I cut around it, through the solid rock (*lit.*, mighty mountain). I made it 9 cubits wide. Below, I made its bottom reach the (nether) waters. The (city) wall, with the help of my warriors, I leveled (into) that ditch as a flame (would level it). They cried out over it,—a mighty roar as of a fierce, leveling storm. Fire [broke out] in it. . . . . grain, I watched it. At the command of Assur, the great god, my lord, out of that city . . . . . his . . . . , his gold, his possessions, precious mountain-stone, his gods, his chariots and teams of horses . . . . for my yoke(?), the staff he used in battle, golden chairs, dishes of shining gold . . . . . inlaid . . . . . , costly inlaid weapons, a golden tent, befitting his royalty, ... whose weight I could not lift (*lit.*, grasp), and the wealth of his spacious palace, I carried off.

369. (*Rev.*) . . . . . king of ⌜all peoples] . . . . . on his royal throne took his seat. In the midst of . . . . . pure sacrifices he apportioned (divided) . . . . . cattle he . . . . . , (sesame) wine,—choice wine, he furnished (caused to flow); wines, food, sweetmeats for my country, he supplied, his sacrifices he offered, the effulgence of his surpassing glory consumed all of them. The lands of the kings were distressed. The mountains trembled. The king solemnly(?) spoke to his nobles: "The hero of Assur,—the glory of his might is surpassing; his work is that of Dagan; (he is) a king making great his glory." Nur-Adad, together with his widespreading

armies, as booty I brought before me. Cities from those of the people of Assyria I gave them. His number I counted.

370. In the same eponymy, in my campaign in which I brought before me Nur-Adad, the Temanite, together with his widespreading armies, as booty and carried him to my land, and caused him to dwell(?) in Nineveh, chariots (and) troops I mobilized; (over) difficult roads, steep mountains, which were not suited for the going of my chariots and armies, to which no one among the kings my fathers, had drawn near, into which no bird that flies under heaven ever penetrates, against the cities Simat, Sapânu, which since the reign of Tukulti-Urta, king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who went before me, had withheld tribute and tax (due) to Assur my lord, I marched. Simat and Sapânu I besieged; with them I battled; multitudes of them I slew. Their spoil,—their property and their goods, their cattle, their sheep, I brought out and carried away to my city Assur. The cities of the prefecture of Simat and Sapânu, I captured in their entirety. The rest of them who had fled before my mighty weapons, came down and seized my feet. I received gifts from them. Tribute and tax I made heavy and imposed upon them.

371. In the month *Simânu*, the fifteenth day, in the eponymy of Ina-ilia-alak, I advanced to the aid of the city of Kumme. I offered sacrifices before Adad of Kumme, my lord. The cities of Kirhi, the enemies of Kumme, I burned with fire. The crops of its land I gathered; tribute and tax I made heavy and imposed upon them.

372. In the month of *Nisânu*, in the eponymy of Adad(?)-ia, for the second time, I went to the aid of Kumme. Sadkuri, Iasabdu, Kunnu, Tapsia, cities of Kirhi which lie about Kumme, had withheld the horses (which were) to be hitched to my yoke;—those cities I captured, I burned with fire, I devastated, I destroyed.

373. At the command of Assur, the great lord, my lord, and Ishtar, lady of battle and combat, who goes before my widespreading armies, in the month of *Simânu*, in the same eponymy, for the fifth time I marched against Hanigalbat. The tribute of Hanigalbat, north and south, I received. The whole of the wide land of Hanigalbat I brought under my sway. To the territory of my land I turned it. I made them all subject to one rule. The Habur I crossed; against Guzânu which Abisalamu, son of Bahiani, held, I marched. The caverns(?) which are situated at the sources of the Habur I entered. Through the mighty power of Shamash, my protecting lord, lover of my priesthood, I received from him large numbers of his chariots, horses broken to the yoke, silver, gold, his property and goods. Tribute I imposed upon him. In my march, I came (*or*, kept) to the bank of the Habur. In Arnabani I spent the night. From Arnabani I departed, in Dabite I spent the night. From Dabite I departed, into Shadîni I entered. Tribute and tax, a chariot of gold, I received. From Shadîni I departed. In Kisiri I spent the night. From Kisiri[1] I departed, into Katni I entered. Amêl-Adad, the Katnite, I established as (my) vassal. The property of his palace, a chariot, horses, wagons, oxen, I received from him. Tribute I imposed upon him. From Katni I departed. In the land Ebûsi, lying over against the Habur, I spent the night. From Ebûsi I departed, into Dûr-aduk-ana-pâni I entered. Dûr-aduk-ana-pâni I counted as my own. From Dûr-aduk-ana-pâni I departed, to Lakê, to the city Ashkiurih (which) Bar-Atara, son of Halubê, held, I marched. Tribute and tax I received from him. To Sha-Harâni I proceeded. Tribute and tax ⟨I received⟩. To Siuki, which is situated on the other bank of the Euphrates, which Iddin-Dadda, of Lakê, held, I marched. Tribute and tax, the property of his palace, oxen, and colts(?), tribute and tax of the whole of

[1] Written Sikiri, by mistake.

Lakê, north and south, I received. The tax of the city of Hindâni I received; to my city Assur I carried it.

374. I built palaces throughout my land. Plows throughout my land I constructed. The grain piles I increased over those of former days and heaped them up. Horses broken to the yoke I increased and . . . . . throughout my country, over those of former days.

375. The gods Urta (*NIN-UR*) and Nergal (*IGI-DU*), who love my priesthood, gave to me the [beasts] of the field, and commanded me to follow the chase. 360 lions I slew from my hunting(?) chariot, by my strong attack, and on my swift feet, with the javelin(?). 240 wild oxen I slew. Seven mighty wild bulls, charging (*lit.*, running), I caught alive. Six elephants I killed on the rush. Into pits I cast them. Four live elephants I captured. Five *ashkippu* I captured. Lions, wild oxen, elephants, deer, wild goats, wild asses, gazelles, MAL-SHIR-birds, herds of (them), I gathered into cages(?).

376. When the old (former) temple of Gula, my lady, which Tukulti-Urta, my ancestor, priest of Assur, had built aforetime, (when) that temple fell to ruins, I cleared away its ruins, I went down to its foundation platform. That temple I made much larger than it was before and I made it big. From its foundation to its top I completed it, and set up my memorial stele. Let (some) future prince restore its ruins; let him return my inscription to its place. (Then) Assur and Gula will hear his prayers. But the one who destroys my name and inscription, may Assur and Gula overthrow his rule, and destroy his name (and) his seed, from the land.

377. The month *Abu*, the seventeenth day, in the eponymy of Ilu-napishta-nâsir, eunuch of Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria.

II. QUAY-WALL INSCRIPTION

378. Adad-Nirâri's quay-wall inscription also contained a summary of his early campaigns (text, *KAH*, II, No. 83 [Andrae, *Fest.*, p. 187, and Tafel XCVI]).

379. Adad-nirâri, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of all the four regions (of the world), favorite of Assur, exalted prince, who went forth under the tutelage of Assur and Urta, the great gods, his lords, and conquered all his foes; son of Assur-dân, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Tiglath-pileser, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (great grand)son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

380. In the beginning of my kingship, in my first year of reign, when I solemnly took my seat upon the royal throne, at the command of Assur, the great lord, my lord, I mobilized my chariots (and) I marched against Kumanê. The widespread Kumaneans I conquered. Iluia, king of Kumanê, my hand seized in the midst of his palace. His brothers I cut down in heaps. Multitudes of them I slew. Their spoil, their property, their goods, their cattle, their sheep, I carried off to the city Assur. Their gods I placed before Assur, my lord, as ⌜gifts.⌝ The rest of their troops, who had fled before my weapons (and later) had returned, I caused them to inhabit a peaceful abode.

381. (*Rev.*) . . . . . the Tigris [I crossed] . . . . . 40 cities . . . . . three of their cities I destroyed, multitudes of them I slew. Their gods, their spoil, their property, their goods, their cattle, their sheep I brought out and took away to my city Assur.

382. In the month of *Arahsamna*, the fourth day, I marched against Kirhi . . . . . , Bâza, Sarbalia (*v.*, Sirbalia), Diduala, together with the cities on the bank of the Rûru River, (which is in the) land of Mehri, I captured. Their spoil and their possessions I brought out and carried to

my city Assur (*v.*, *after* "*possessions*," their *mehri*-wood I cut down, I carried off).

383. At that time the quay wall of the edge (*lit.*, city threshold)[1] of the city which is below the temple of Assur, which Adad-nirâri, priest of Assur, son of Arik-dên-ilu, priest of Assur, a prince who lived before me, had built, had fallen to decay, had disappeared (been carried off). I restored its ruins,—I cleared its foundation platform; from its foundations to its top I rebuilt and completed it, I made it more beautiful than it was before. My memorial stele I inscribed and set up therein. Let (some) future prince restore its ruins, let him return my inscription to its place. (Then) Assur, the great lord, will hear his prayers (*v. adds*, whoever shall blot out my name and write his own name instead, may the gods destroy his land).

384. The month *Kislimu*, the sixth day; eponymy of Sheim-Assur, governor of Kakzi; Gabbia-ana-Assur, governor of Assur, Adad-ah-iddina, the city prefect, the guardians of the quay wall.

III. THE "BROKEN OBELISK" INSCRIPTION

385. The "Broken Obelisk" in the British Museum, said to have been found at Kuyunjik, has furnished material for speculation ever since its incription became known to scholars. The long introduction records the conquests and hunting exploits of some Assyrian king, in the third person, while in the building inscription at the end, the narrative is in the first person. For the most part scholars have thought of the introduction as an account of the military and hunting exploits of Tiglath-pileser I, while the first-person narrative was assigned to some successor of this king. But with the recovery of parts of early kings' and eponym lists, as well as the annals of Adad-nirâri II, it seems almost certain that the obelisk, in its final form, comes from this king's reign. At the beginning of the building section we are told of a canal dug by Assur-dân which was restored after thirty years, by the author of the inscription. Assur-dân II and his son Adad-nirâri II

[1] Cf. Adad-nirâri, I, §§ 84 ff., and Shalmaneser's Black Obelisk, § 582.

would fit this chronological situation better than any other two Assyrian kings. Further on in the section we hear of the rebuilding of the city of Apku. Adad-nirâri II in his annals (§ 362) gives a detailed account of his restoration of this city.

386. So far the writer is in perfect agreement with Julius Lewy (cf. *Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung*, XXVI [1923], 197 f.). But whether Lewy is right in making the narrative in the third person an account of the reign of Tukulti-Urta I is not so certain. It is true that he named his son and successor after the great king who lived some three centuries before his own time. But, until some new eponym lists are found, which will contain the *limu*-names found in the "Broken Obelisk," any suggested solution of our problem must be received with caution.

387. The writer is inclined to believe that the monument was inscribed with the annals and hunting exploits of Tiglath-pileser I, that it was, however, never finished—blank spaces are left where the numbers of the slain beasts were to stand[1]—and that Adad-nirâri II "acquired merit" by setting it up, after adding his own short inscription.

The text was published in IIIR, Plate 4, No. 1, and IR, Plate 28; again in *AKA*, pp. 128 f.

388. (*Col. I*) . . . . the great gods,[2] . . . . Who . . . . with the help of . . . the peoples of . . . . . ,[3] king of Akkad. . . .[4] (*Col. II*). One thousand men of the land of . . . . 4,000 of them he carried away as prisoners and brought them down to the land of Assyria . . . . . unto the land of . . . . the land of . . . . and . . . the month *Kislimu* . . . . in the land . . . . . .

389. In that year, and in the month *Dûzu*, the city of . . . . which is in the land of Mushki(?) . . . . In the month *Simânu*, in the eponymy of Assur- . . . . the temple of Anu and Adad to . . . . . unto the city of Assur . . . . In that

[1] Cf. § 392.

[2] Ll. 3–11 almost completely defaced.

[3] The traces of the name that stood here suggest a restoration to Marduk-nâdin-ahê, who was a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser I (see King, *AKA*, p. 129, n. 2, and §§ 291 ff. above). If the traces of the name as given by King are correct, then Lewy's argument falls to the ground.

[4] Lower part of the column is wanting.

year, and in the month *Kislimu*, ... from above the river Habur, the land Harki(?), as far as the city of Carchemish, which is in Hatte, he raided . . . . . in boats made of skins [he crossed the Euphrates]. . . . . (*Col. III*) In that year and in the same month, during the expedition against the land of Arime, in the city of Shasiri (*or*, a city of the desert), which is in the province of the city of . . . . he fought (a battle). In that year and in the month *Dûzu*, during an expedition against the land of Arime, in the city of . . . . which is in the land of . . . he fought a battle.

390. In the month . . . . , in the eponymy of Assur-ra'im-nishêshu, the city of Tur- —ta, in the land of Musri, he captured. In that year and in the month *Shabâtu*, the chariots and . . . . from the city of Assur [he took,] and the city of, —indishula and the city of —sandê, cities which are in the province of Dûr-Kurigalzu, he captured. Kadashman-buriash, the son of Ki—, the governor of their land, was seized. In that year, and in the month *Airu*, during an expedition against the land of Arime, (in) the city of Pausa, which lies at the foot of Mount Kasiari(?), he fought (a battle). In that year, and in the same month, during an expedition against the land of Arime, at the entrance (*lit.*, head) of the city of Nabula . . . , he fought (a battle). In that year and in the month of *Simânu*, the soldiers of the land of Musri, he carried off. In the same year, and in the same month, during an expedition against the land of Arime, in the city of —tibua(?), which is on the Tigris, he fought a battle. In that year, and in the month *Abu*, during an expedition against the land of Arime, in the cities of Lishur-sala-Assur, which are in the province of the city of Shinamu, he fought a battle. In that year and in the same month (the inhabitants of) the city of Shû—ra, which is in the land of Hanigalbat, he carried off. The city of Hulza, which is in the midst of the Mount Kashiari, and the city of Erisha, which the (people) of Kirhi ⌜held⌝,

he captured, and three ——— he brought out. In that year, and in the month *Ululu*, during an expedition against the land of Arime, in the city of Murarir(?), which is in the land of Shuprê, he fought a battle. In that year and in the month . . . from the land of Mahirâni to the city of Shuppâ(?), which is in the land of Harran, he raided.

391. In the month *Kislimu*, in the eponymy of Ilu-iddina, during an expedition against the land of Arime, in the city of Makrisi, which is in Mount Iari(?), he fought (a battle). In that year, and in the same month, during an expedition against the land of Arime, in the city of Dûr-katlimu he fought (a battle). In that year and in the same month . . . against the city of Sangarite, [which is on] the Euphrates, . . . In that year and in the same month . . . . . he fought (a battle) . . . . in the city of Gulguli(?) . . . . Mount Hâni. . . . . In that year and in the month *Arahsamna* . . . . together with the drinking-places. . . . . In that year and in the same month, during an expedition against the land of Arime, ... [an image in (his)] likeness . . . . . .

(*Remainder of column gone.*)

392. (*Col. IV*) The gods Urta and Nergal, who love his priesthood, granted him (the skill) to hunt in the field[1] and he embarked in ships of the Arvadites and slew a dolphin (*nahiru*) in the Great Sea. [ ][2] mighty wild bulls near the city of Araziki, which lies opposite the land of Hatte, and at the foot of Mount Lebanon, he slew. [ ][2] young of wild oxen he captured alive, and herds of them he collected. [ ][2] elephants he brought down with his bow, and elephants he captured alive, and brought them to his city of Assur. 120 lions with his brave heart and with his courageous attack, he slew from his hunting(?) chariot, or on foot with

[1] Cf. the account of Tiglath-pileser hunting exploits around the city of Araziki (§ 247).

[2] Spaces left blank.

the javelin, [ ][1] lions he brought down with the javelin(?). To hunt for them (the gods) in the high mountains, they (the gods) commanded him, and in the days of cold, and frost, and snow, (or) in the days of the ascendency of Sirius, which glowed like copper, in the mountains of Ebih, Urshe, Azameri, Ankurna, Pizitta, Parsagish(?) and Kashiari, mountains of the land of Assyria, (in) Mount Hâna on the border of the land of the Lulumê, and in the mountains of Nairî, [ ][1] ibexes and mountain goats, [ ][1] hinds and stags, he captured in nets, and large herds of them he collected, he caused them to bring forth (young). Like flocks of sheep he regarded (*lit.*, counted) them. [ ][1] panthers, [ ][1] *midini*, [ ][1] *asi*, and two (*or*, 120) wild boars of the cane-brakes, [ ][1] *MAL-SHIR*-birds he slew. [ ][1] wild asses and gazelles, [ ][1] jackals, [ ][1] *simkurri* he brought down. A *burhish*, (Bactrian) camels, *tesheni*,—merchants he sent out, brought (them); he collected (Bactrian) camels, and he caused them to bring forth (young). Herds of them he caused the people of his land to behold. A great *pagutu*, a crocodile, a river ox(?) (buffalo), creatures of the Great Sea, which the king of the land of Musrê (*probably*, Egypt) sent, he caused the people of his land to behold. As for the remainder of the many wild beasts, and fowl of heaven that fly,—(his) dominion(?) over the field, the deeds of his hands,—their names were not recorded with (those of) ⌜these(?)⌝ beasts, their numbers were not recorded with these numbers.

393. This does not include (other) lands which his hands conquered, the many mountain regions of the enemy in pursuit of (*lit.*, after) whom he marched,—where the terrain was favorable, in his chariot, where it was difficult, on foot,—and whose defeat he brought about. These ⌜deeds of his hands⌝

[1] Spaces left blank.

were not recorded. The countries . . . from the city of Babylon of the land of ⌜Akkad⌝ to . . . . of the land of ⌜Amurru⌝ [he conquered].

(*Lower part of column wanting.*)

394. (*Col. V*) The *bît-abusâte* of my royal palace, which is located(?) at the ⌜head(?)⌝ of the *hamiluhhi* and the terrace, (and) which had fallen into ruins, I rebuilt from its foundation to its top. The *bît-shahuri*[1] of Erîba-Adad, and the great terrace which faces the north, which Assur-nâdin-ahê, king of Assyria, had built, and which had fallen into decay, I rebuilt. The moat of my city Assur, which had become ruined, and was full of earth, I dug out, from the Gate of the Metal-Workers unto the Gate of the Tigris. The dilapidated door-leaves of the Gate of the Metal-Workers I removed and built (in their stead) lofty door-leaves of fir, and I bound them with a sheathing (bands) of copper. The great wall of my city Assur, the whole circuit thereof, I built anew, and raised on high a mound of earth around it. A palace of cedar-wood, a palace of boxwood, a palace of pistachio-wood, a palace of tamarisk-wood, in my city Assur I built. Two dolphins (*nahiru*), four *burhish*, and four lions of *AT-BAR*-stone, and two bull-colossi of alabaster, and two *burhish* of white limestone I fashioned, and in the gates thereof I set them up.

395. The canal, which Assur-dân, king of Assyria, had dug,—the head of that canal had fallen to ruins, and for thirty years no water had flowed therein. I cut the head of that canal in a new place (*lit.*, changed and dug), I let the waters flow into it, and I planted orchards (by its side). The great quay wall by the ramparts of the Gate of the Tigris, which Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria, had built, had fallen into decay and was in ruins. From the level of its nether waters, with bitumen and burnt brick, for five . . . -measures, I built it up. The great terrace of the new palace which faces

[1] Cf. Index to Vol. II.

the courts, which Tukulti-Urta, king of Assyria, had built, had fallen into decay along (its) side for sixty-three chains(?). and was in ruins. From its foundation unto its top I rebuilt it. A palace in the city of . . . . , at the head of the *huli* of the city of Assur, I built. A new palace in —aka I built. . . . . The palace of the city of Abki which Assur-rêsh-ishi, king of Assyria, had built but had not finished . . . . . I completed. The wall of . . . . . .

(*Remainder of column gone.*)

IV. REBUILDING OF THE PALACE

396. The building of the palace was commemorated by an inscription on a "cylindrical stone object," now in the British Museum (text in *AKA*, p. 154).

The palace of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Assur-dân, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Tiglath-pileser, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

V. FRAGMENTS OF TEXTS

397. To the annals of some king of this period, possibly to those of Adad-nirâri II, belong the fragmentary texts published in *KAH*, II, Nos. 87 and 88.

398. 1. (No. 87) . . . . . which from the reign of . . . . . the image with the name of Tiglath-⌜pileser⌝[1] . . . . against the Nairî-lands I marched. The city of Barzani . . . . . their property, their goods, their oxen, their sheep . . . . . (to tells and) ruins I turned. The head(s) of their fighters (I smashed), ... of the Nairî-lands; horses, asses, ... [Barzani] I burned with fire, I devastated, I destroyed, to mounds and ruins [I turned it].

. . . . . of(?) Tilsê revolted . . . . . they went up; against Kahat they went up . . . . . .

[1] Cf. §§ 268 ff.

from Nineveh I departed; the river . . . . [I crossed] . . . . . their . . . . their property, their cattle, their sheep [I carried off] . . . . . after him they hurried, ⌜(many of them) they slew⌝ . . . . . they returned . . . . . .

399. 2. (No. 88) . . . . . many of them I(?) slew . . . . . the rest of them . . . . . I brought under my sway.

. . . . . of the lands and mountains(?) I received: Irbibu trusted [in his strong city] and revolted from me. At the command of the god . . . . . [to level its walls] I dug a ditch; six cities . . . . . which is (are?) below it, for plundering(?) . . . . . Hâni, their stronghold . . . . . I slew. Their spoil I carried off . . . . . 12 I flayed, their skins . . . . . the throats of 1 (?)hundred and 53 I cut . . . . . on stakes I impaled them . . . . . .

. . . . . the cities of Barzania, Dikun . . . . . I devastated, I destroyed . . . . .

. . . . . which the . . . . . held . . . . . .

CHAPTER X

TUKULTI-URTA II

I. THE ANNALS

400. The annals of Tukulti-Urta II (890–884 B.C.), inscribed on a large tablet which was purchased at Mosul for the Louvre, but which undoubtedly was found at Assur, were published by Scheil in *Annales de Tukulti-Ninip II.*

401. The first five campaigns of the king are given in brief form. In the minutest detail are given the events of the sixth campaign in which the king makes the circuit—down the Tigris, across to the Euphrates by way of Dûr-Kurigalzu and Sippar, then up the Euphrates, via Hit and Anah, to the Habur; up the Habur Valley to Nisibis, from which a raid is made against the Mushki, and then back to Assur.

The first five campaigns

402. . . . . . of the Nairî-lands . . . . . I crossed . . . . . I . . . . . On my return (march) from the Nairî-lands, the city of . . . . . his sons, his daughters, his wife, the wealth of his palace, his horses, for (*or*, to) . . . . . .

403. Through the aid of Assur, my lord, terror overcame all of those lands: Bi—, son of Amme-⌜ba'li⌝ . . . . . sent (word) to me and . . . . . my soldiers I sent to . . . . . From the city of Udi to the city of Sha—. . . . . I proceeded, and his son . . . . . his goods, his property, the spoil of his palace, in large quantity, his gods . . . . . ⌜from his city, to⌝ Nineveh . . . . . to me they brought.

404. (While) my enormous (surpassing) host remained in Nineveh, ... into the heart of the pass . . . . . I sent, as far as the mountain, the difficult region, ... his silver, gold, his goods, ...

405. At that time . . . . . sent to me. Against the powerful (haughty) Nairî-lands . . . . . to cross(?) their moun-

tains, his heart planned, ... In the month *Simânu*, the first day, of the eponymy of Ilu-milku, I departed from Nineveh, against the land of . . . . . [along] the Subnat River, I went. Mount Kashiari I crossed and to the city of Pan— . . . . . [of Ammi-ba'li], son of Zamâni, I drew near. Against . . . . . I threw up . . . . . two cities of its neighborhood I destroyed, ⌜the grain and straw of his land⌝ . . . . . the people of his land I carried into captivity, I defeated him . . . . . I struck down with the sword great numbers. I had mercy(?) . . . . [Ammi-ba'li], to save his life, seized my feet, and I pardoned him . . . . . my officers therein . . . . . copper, lead, iron, ... wood . . . . . horses, mules, before my officials [they brought] . . . . . for my own I took. Ammi-ba'li, son of Zamâni, I pardoned, the cities (that were left) standing, I had him occupy, in peaceful habitations I caused them to dwell. The oath of Assur, my lord, upon . . . . . I made him swear: "You, if you furnish horses to my bodyguards, Adad, the merciful god. . . . . ." At that time, Tukulti-Urta . . . . . in the temple wall of the great court of Enlil (*NUN-NAM-NIR*), in the gate *Mashupi*, I placed (set up). Silver of the Nairî-lands . . . . . belonging to Amme-ba'li, son of Zamâni, which my arms had captured, and which I took, two parts to the god . . . . . one part I placed in my palace. At that time, [I offered] 60 *GAL*-birds, birds of sacrifice, to Assur, my lord.

406. In the month of *Tashritu*, the sixteenth day, I departed from Assur; into the passes of the lands of Kirûre I entered. From the passes . . . . . I departed, into the midst of Urrupnu, and Ishrun, mighty mountains, into which none of the kings my fathers had made [his way],—nor did any Assyrian road ⌜lead up to it(?)⌝—I entered. Over difficult ground I marched, I plunged into the most wearisome paths, into which none among the kings, my fathers, had

ventured, (and here) I made my triumphant way. To the cities of the land of Ladâni, which (the people) of . . . . and Lullu held, I drew near. Thirty of their cities, lying between the mountains, I captured. Their second(?) . . . . I carried off; their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The rest of them escaped and occupied a steep mountain. Two days [I marched] among the mountains of Ishrun without my chariot and my horse(men) [who go] ⌜at my side⌝; on foot I climbed up after them into Mount Ishrun, a region of destruction, into which the eagle flying across the heaven, does not enter. From the top of Mount Ishrun to the Lower Zab I [pursued] them; I captured countless numbers of them. The rest of them [crossed] the Lower Zab, to save their lives.

The sixth campaign

407. In the month of *Nisânu*, the twenty-sixth day, in the eponymy of Na'di-ilu, I departed from Assur, in the desert(?) I spent the night. From . . . . . I departed, the Tartara I crossed, I spent the night. Like . . . . . they dug for water. 470 wells I dug. On foot against . . . . ⌜I advanced, I slew them⌝. The second day against . . . . . not filling my belly with the bitter water. From the river I departed, I kept in the desert. By the Tartara I spent the night. Four days I went along the bank of the Tartara. In my (*lit.*, his) march along the Tartara, I slew 9 wild oxen (aurochs). At the mouths of the Tartara I spent the night. They dug for water. From the mouths of the Tartara I departed, through the *hamâte*, a wearisome region, I advanced. In the region of Margani(?) I found streams, on both sides of them they dug wells, (finding) much water; I spent the night. They dug for water all day and all night.

408. To the Tigris I drew near. The settlements of the land of Utu'âte, their sepulcher cities,[1] which are situated on the Tigris, I captured. I slew their people. Great quantities

[1] Troglodyte settlements are evidently thus described.

of their booty I carried off. In the city of Asusi I spent the night. From Asusi I departed. For three days I marched in the midst of the forest, without getting ahead(?) or knowing the way. I drew near to Dûr-Kurigalzu, I spent the night. From Dûr-Kurigalzu I departed. The Patti-Bêl (canal) I crossed. I spent the night. From the Patti-Bêl I departed. In Sippar of Shamash I spent the night. From Sippar of Shamash I departed. I took (the road) upstream of the Euphrates. In the city of Salate I spent the night. From Salate I departed, in front of Dûr-balâti I spent the night. Dûr-balâti lies on the other bank of the Euphrates. From Dûr-balâti I departed. In the city of Rahimme, which is opposite Rapiku, I spent the night. Rapiku lies on the other side of the Euphrates. From Rahimme I departed. In the plain (field) of Kabsite, which is on the Euphrates, I spent the night. From Kabsite I departed. In Daiasheti I spent the night. From Daiasheti I departed.

409. In front of Hit, by the springs of bitumen, the place of *ushmeta*-stones through (*lit.*, in) which the gods speak, I spent the night. Hit lies on the other bank of the Euphrates. From Hit I departed. In Harbê I spent the night. Harbê is on the other side of the Euphrates. From Harbê I departed. To the meadows (bottoms) along the Euphrates I marched. All night and day they dug for water. The desert (road) of the plateau (*lit.*, mountain), where there is no vegetation in the fields, I took. On the plateau—desert ground—[1] I spent the night. From the desert ground I departed. In the meadow of the city of Hududili which is on the Euphrates, I spent the night. From Hududili I departed. Between the cities of Zadidâni and Sabirite I spent the night. The city of Sabirite lies in the midst of the Euphrates. From Zadidâni I departed; in front of the cities of Sûri and Talbish I spent the night. Talmesh[2] lies in the midst of the Euphrates.

[1] *Lit.*, ground of thirst. [2] So written.

From Sûri I departed. To Anat of the land of Suhi I drew near. Anat lies in the midst of the Euphrates.

410. In front of Anat I spent the night. The gifts of Iluibni, governor of Suhi,—3 talents of silver, 20 minas of gold, an ivory chair, 3 *pidnu*(?) of ivory, 18 "bricks" of lead, 40 *kablâte* of mulberry-wood, a couch of mulberry-wood, 6 tables of mulberry-wood, a copper pitcher, linen garments, brightly colored (woolen) garments, dark-blue wool, cattle, sheep, food and drink, I received from him. From Anat I departed. In Mashkite I spent the night. From Mashkite I departed. In Harada I spent the night. Harada lies on the other side of the Euphrates. From Harada I departed. In Kailite I spent the night. From Kailite I departed. To Hindanu I drew near. 10 minas of *liktu*-gold, 10 minas of silver, 2 talents of lead, 1 talent of myrrh, 60 copper *BAD*, 10 minas of *zadidu*,[1] 8 minas of *shimzida*-stone, 30 camels, 50 cattle, 30 asses, 14 large birds, 200 lambs, food and drink, straw and fodder, I received as the gift of Amme-alaba(?) of Hindanu. I spent the night. Hindanu lies on the other side of the Euphrates. While roaming (about in) the desert I killed *IB*-(?)*UR*-birds. The young *IB*(?)-*UR*-birds I caught with my hands. While roaming (along) the banks of the Euphrates I killed deer. The young of the deer I caught with my hands. From Hindanu I departed.

411. (*Rev.*) Through the mountains upstream of the Euphrates [I cut a way] with axes and iron [pickaxes]. In the city of Nagiate I spent the night. From Nagiate I departed. To the meadows of the city of Akarbani I drew near. 200 lambs, 30 cattle, grain, straw, food and wine, as gifts from Iddin-Dada, the Lakêan, I received. I spent the night. From Akarbani I departed. Against the city of Supri I marched. 200 lambs, 50 cattle, food and wine, grain and straw, I received as the tribute of the Lakêan Hamataia (*a land*). . . . .

[1] A plant.

. . . . . I departed. In the city of Arbate I spent the night. 200 lambs, 30 cattle, food and wine, grain and straw, I received as tribute from Harâni the Lakêan. [From] Arbate I departed. In the *kasi*-plain I spent the night. From the *kasi*-plain I departed, to the city of Sirku I drew near. 3 minas of gold, 7 minas of refined silver, 40 copper pans, 1 talent of myrrh, X-hundred lambs, 140 cattle, 20 asses, 20 birds . . . . . [grain], straw, and fodder, I received as the tribute of Iddin-Dada of Sirku. While I was staying [in] Sirku, I received as tribute from Harâni, the Lakêan, 3 minas of gold, 10 minas of silver, 30 copper pans, 6 talents of lead, 700 lambs, 100+ . . cattle, 20 asses. In Sirku I spent the night. Sirku lies on the other side of the Euphrates.

412. From Sirku I departed, in the meadows of the Euphrates, above(?) the city of Rummunidu, where the ⌜Habur(?)¹ River flows (*lit.*, lies), I spent the night. From Rummunidu I departed. To [Sûru of the son of Halupê], which is on the Habur, I drew near. 20 minas of gold, 20 minas of silver, 32 talents of lead, 130 talents of copper . . . . . copper, one *taphu*, 150 inlaid *shumi*, 1 talent of purple wool, ... talent . . . . . 5 minas of *zadidu* plants, 1 talent of iron, choice oil, 1,200 lambs, 100 [cattle] . . . . . large birds, 2 of his sisters with their large dowries, (was) the tribute of the Lakêan Hamataia. From Sûru of the son of Halupê, [I departed. To the city of Usalâ] I drew near. 200 lambs, 30 cattle, food and wine, grain and straw, [as tribute of . . . . . .] I received. I spent the night. From Usalâ I departed. To [Dûr-Katlimmu of the land of Lakê, I drew near. The tribute] of Lakê in its whole extent,—cattle, lambs, refined silver, [I received]. The tribute of Dûr-Katlimmu (consisted of) 10 minas of silver, 14 minas of . . . . . talents . . . . . *zadidu*-plants, 1 talent of myrrh, 100 iron daggers, 10 vases . . . . . brightly colored (woolen) garments. From Dûr-Katlimmu I departed, in . . . . . [I spent the

night. From . . . . . .] I departed. To the city Katni I drew near. The tribute of the Katnians,— . . . . . 11 talents of ⌜lead⌝, 50 copper vessels (*udae*) . . . . 100 large birds, barnyard fowl(?), food and wine, grain and straw, ... [From Katni] I departed. In the city of Latihi of the land of Dikanu, I spent [the night. From Latihi I departed], to Sha-Dikannu I drew near. 3 minas . . . . . copper, one *taphu* of silver (was the tribute). From Sha-Dikannu I departed. In Tâbete I spent the night]. From Tâbete I departed. In ⌜Magarisi⌝ [I spent the night. From] ⌜Magarisi⌝ I departed. In Guriete I spent the night. From [Guriete I departed. In Tâbite] I spent the night. From Tâbite I departed. . . . . I departed.

413. In Nasibina I spent the night. From [Nasibina I departed. In] Huzirina I spent the night. From Huzirina [I departed. In . . . . . , the city] which ⌜Tukulti⌝-Urta had rebuilt, I spent [the night] . . . . . mountain, a difficult terrain, (over) steep trails . . . . . of the land of Mushki, I marched. In 4 days [I reached] the city of Pîru, ... their (spoil), their goods, their cattle, (their) sheep . . . . . I captured. Countless numbers of them [I slew] . . . . . their cities I burned with fire. The crops of their fields (orchards) . . . . . their cities I caused them to occupy. Tribute [greater than that of earlier times, upon them] I imposed. In my second campaign . . . . . *The hunting and building activities of the king*

414. The glory of my might, which Assur, my lord, my sun, ... high mountains, from the land of the Shubarî to the lands of Gilzânu and Nairî . . . . . which I had raised on high(?). Total 2,720 horses. . . . . [The temples?] of my land, I made greater than before, I made firm.

415. Palaces I constructed throughout my land, plows I . . . . . the grain piles for the [sustenance] of my land, I

increased over those of former days and heaped them up. To Assyria I added land, to its peoples, peoples.

416. Urta (*MASH*) and Nergal (*IGI-DU*), who love my priesthood, gave to me the beasts of the plain, they commanded me to follow the chase. [X] mighty [lions(?)] in my hunting(?)-chariot, with my brave heart, (and) by my courageous onset, I slew with the javelin(?).

417. When the wall of the great terrace, which [belonged to the time before] my reign, and which aforetime the earlier kings, who lived before me, had built, became weak, [Assur-uballit,] viceroy of Assur, rebuilt it. Again it became weak and Tukulti-Urta, viceroy of Assur, son of Adad-nirâri, viceroy of Assur, cleared its site, went down to its foundation, and laid its foundation walls upon mighty blocks of mountain stone. 300 [*tipku*, layers of brick(?)], with 20 bricks for the width, from the *kidi* (*perhaps*, the outside), over its former (height) I added to it, I made it thick. From [its foundation] to its top I constructed, I completed it. I made it more beautiful than it was before, I made it (more) magnificent. [My memorial stele] I set up. The memorial steles of the former kings, my fathers, I anointed with oil, offered sacrifices, and restored them to their places. When that wall becomes old and falls to decay, let (some) future prince restore its ruins, let him not tear the memorial steles from their places, (but) let him anoint them with oil, let him offer sacrifices, let him restore them to their places. (Then) Assur and Adad will hear his prayers. But whosoever destroys (my) name and inscription, and tears the memorial steles from their places, may Assur and Adad destroy his name and his seed in the land.

Month of *Arahsamna*, the ninth day, of the eponymy of Na'di-ilu, governor of Kutmuhi.

II. BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

418. 1. The following broken inscription from Assur had the same building text at the close as that of the annals (text, *KAH*, II, No. 90):

. . . . . lord of lands, the great lord . . . . . Adad, the mighty, the pre-eminent, lord of . . . . . [Urta] . . . . of the gods, valiant (leader) of the Igigi and Anunnaki . . . . . the exalted god, Ninlil, spouse of Enlil (Bêl). . . . . .

419. [The great gods who decree destiny], whose onset is battle and combat; who ⌜have made great my kingship . . . . who have changed my lowly(?) birth⌝ to a lordly birth; who have made . . . . . ; who have [brought to perfection⌝ the state of my members . . . . . who have . . . . Tukulti-Urta, the mighty king . . . . . exalted . . . . , whose name(?) . . . . . Shamash, a shining scepter . . . . his . . . . . , over (all) princes has been(?) named . . . . . they have granted; an honored name . . . . . am I.

420. Son of Assur-dân, viceroy of the great gods, ... (grand)son of Assur-rêsh-ishi, the king who subdued. . . . . .

421. [In these days, when at the command of the great gods, my lordly[1] sovereignty has manifested itself, I am royal . . . . . I am reverent, and I am pre-eminent, I am valiant . . . . . I am almighty, I am resplendent . . . . . I am noble, I am awe-inspiring . . . . . I am . . . . . and I am ruler . . . . . of Sin, beloved of . . . . . .

(*Rest of Obv. broken away.*)

422. (*Rev.*) . . . of the peoples . . . . . the Nairî-lands . . . . . by my powerful attack . . . . . .

423. [When the wall of the great terrace, *etc.*[1] . . . .] . . . . . from of old, the kings . . . . . again it fell to ruins . . . . . I cleared away, I reached its foundations, ... outside(?) more than before . . . . . I completed. More than before [I beautified, *etc.*].

[1] Cf. *Annals*, § 417.

(*The few words that are left were part of a text practically identical with the closing paragraph of the Annals.*)

424. Fragmentary texts recording the rebuilding of the city wall (*KAH*, II, No. 89) and the repairs to some temple (*ibid.*, No. 91) follow. The Introduction to these, which was similar to that of the preceding text, is patterned after the opening lines of the Annals of Adad-nirâri II (§ 356).

425. 2. (No. 89) . . . . . queen of the gods . . . . . the Igigi and Annunaki . . . . . father of the gods . . . . . of the Apsu, who decrees destiny . . . [Urta], who casts down the wicked, lord of . . . . . [Adad, mighty,] pre-eminent, lord of abundance . . . . . [Shamash,] judge of heaven and earth . . . . . master of the gods . . . . . mighty one of the Igigi and Anunnaki . . . . . ⌜Nergal⌝, the perfect, ... Nusku, who bears a shining scepter . . . . . Bêlit-bîti (*NIN-LIL?*), spouse of Bêl . . . . . Ishtar, first of heaven and earth, who [fills full the measure of bravery]. . . . . .

The great gods who decree destinies . . . . . whose onset is battle and combat . . . . . Tukulti-Urta . . . . . beloved of . . . . . who(se) . . . . . .

(*Rest of Obv. broken away.*)

426. (*Rev.*) When the wall of the city . . . . . which . . . . . a prince who went before me had built, [fell to decay], its place I cleared, its foundation I reached . . . . . [from its foundation] to its top I (re)built, I completed it. I made it beautiful, I made it splendid. My memorial stele I set up therein. Let (some) future prince, [when that wall shall fall to ruins, restore it]. . . . . Let him look upon my stele and read it, ... let him pour out libations, to its place let him restore it. [Then Ishtar of] Nineveh [will hear] his prayers. . . . , where my stele(?). . . . . .

. . . . . Eponymy of Assur-la-kinu.

427. 3. (No. 91) . . . . . Nergal . . . . . ⌜Urta⌝, valiant (leader) of the Igigi and Anunnaki, ... the perfect

. . . . . Nusku, who bears a shining scepter . . . . . Ninlil, spouse of Enlil (Bêl), mother of the gods . . . . . Ishtar first of heaven and earth, who fills full the measure of bravery.

The great [gods,] who carry out decrees, [who decide fate,] gloriously(?), Tukulti-Urta, the exalted prince, [they have created] (in) the womb of my mother . . . . . my [lowly(?)] birth to a lordly birth [they changed . . . . . .] people . . . . . (bright) . . . . . people(?) . . . . . .

428. (*Rev.*) . . . . . in the temple . . . . . before me . . . . . in the temple. . . . . .

(*Only a few signs are left on the Rev.*)

429. From the palace came the following brick inscriptions (*KAH*, II, Nos. 86 and 85):

430. 4. Palace of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Assur-dân, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

431. 5. Palace of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria. (From) the ruins of the *bît-nameru* which Sharru-bêl-pi restored.

432. Another fragmentary text is published in *KAH*, II, No. 92.

6. . . . . returned to the place . . . . . conquest, Tukulti-Urta . . . . . in the midst . . . . . .

. . . . . of copper and iron(?) . . . . . in which the (my?) name was not written(?) . . . . . either for his well-being, or the stationing of his troops . . . . . shall make, my name in it [let him write] . . . . conquest of my land, wherein my name . . . . . I (he) brings up, or to . . . . . his palace or to . . . .

. . . . . to his treasury . . . . . of Babylonia he brought under his sway . . . . . .

. . . . my royalty(?) without my name. . . . . .

III. MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

433. On a small agate amulet in the Louvre is found the following inscription (published by Scheil, *op. cit.* [§ 400], p. 3):

Amulet ("neck-stone") of Tukulti-Urta, king of Assyria, son of Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria.

IV. TEXT OF TUKULTI-MER

434. If Tukulti-Mer is another writing of Tukulti-Urta, then the following may belong to some building text of Tukulti-Urta II (*KAH*, II, No. 77):

. . . . . city . . . . . together with their fortresses . . . . . people and . . . . . all of (their) great cities . . . . . none escaped. The people, who had sinned(?) . . . . . against their cities . . . . . they overthrew, for . . . . . I constructed. The fighters, warriors . . . . . I destroyed. Vengeance for(?) my land, which . . . . . .

Against Kirhi I marched, the cities of Hasa- . . . . . , the cities of Kirhi I captured. . . . . .

435. Tukulti-Mer,[1] king of Assyria, ... at the command of Assur . . . . . .

[1] The British Museum (see *Guide*, p. 238) has a "green-stone object with eight sides, which was dedicated as a votive offering in the temple of the Sun-god in the city of Sippar," by Tukulti-Mer, king of Hana.

CHAPTER XI

ASSUR-NÂSIR-PAL

I. FINAL EDITION OF THE ANNALS

436. On the pavement slabs of the entrance to the temple of Urta at Calah (Nimrûd) was inscribed the text of what was probably the final edition of Assur-nâsir-pal's annals. The great campaigns of the first six years are dated by *limmus*. Then follow what must have been minor raids until the eighteenth year, the eponymy of Shamash-nuri, is reached, when the events of another serious campaign, probably the last, are recorded.

The text was published in IR, Plates 17–26; again in *AKA*, pp. 254 f.; and in Le Gac, *Les Inscriptions d'Aššur-nasir-aplu III*, pp. 3 f.

Invocation of Urta, followed by titles and panegyric of the king (Col. I, ll. 1–43)

437. Unto Urta, the powerful, the almighty, the exalted, the chief of the gods, the valiant, the gigantic, the perfect, whose onslaught in battle cannot be equaled, the first(born) son, the destroyer of opposition, the first-born of Nudimmud, the hero of the Igigi, the powerful, the prince of the gods, the offspring of E-kur, who holds the bolt of heaven and earth, who opens the depths, who treads the broad earth, the god without whom the decisions of heaven and earth are not decided, the destroyer, the mighty one, the command of whose mouth is not void, pre-eminent in the (four) quarters (of the world), who gives scepter and law unto all cities, the impetuous ruler, the word of whose lips is not altered, (of) boundless strength, the master of the gods, the exalted, Utgallu,[1] the lord of lords, whose hand controls the ends of heaven and earth, the king of battle, the strong one who conquers opposition, the triumphant, the perfect, the lord of the

[1] The Storm(-god).

nether waters and of the oceans, the terrible, the merciless one whose onslaught is a storm (deluge), who overwhelms the land of enemies, who strikes down the wicked, the powerful god whose counsel is not void, the light of heaven and earth, who gives light unto the midst of the deep, who destroys the wicked, who brings to subjection the disobedient, who overthrows foes, whose name in the assembly of the gods no god can humble, the giver of life, the god Ab-u, to whom it is good to pray (?), who dwells in the city of Calah, the great lord, my lord, (I) Assur-nâsir-pal (do pray); the mighty king, king of the universe, the king without a rival, the king of the whole of the four quarters (of the world), the Sun of all peoples, favorite of Enlil (Bêl) and Urta, the beloved of Anu and Dagan, the worshiper of the great gods, the submissive one who is dear unto thy heart, the prince, the favorite of Enlil (Bêl),whose priesthood is pleasing unto thy great godhead so that thou hast established his reign, the valiant hero who goes hither and yon trusting in Assur, his lord, and who is without a rival among the princes of the four quarters (of the world), the wonderful shepherd, who fears not opposition, the mighty flood who has no conqueror, the king who has brought into subjection those that were not submissive to him, who has brought under his sway the totality of all peoples, the mighty hero who treads on the neck of his foe, who tramples all enemies under foot, who shatters the might of the haughty, who goes about trusting in the great gods, his lords, whose hand has conquered all the countries, who has brought under his sway all the mountain (regions) and has received their tribute, who has taken hostages, and who has established might over all lands.

438. When Assur, the lord, who called me by my name and has made great my kingdom, intrusted his merciless weapon unto my lordly hand, (I) Assur-nâsir-pal, the exalted prince, who fears the great gods, the powerful despot, con-

queror of cities and mountains to their farthest borders, the king of rulers, who consumes the wicked, who is crowned with glory, who fears not opposition, the strong, the exalted, the unsparing, who destroys opposition, the king of all princes, the lord of lords, the shepherd(?), the king of kings, the exalted priest, the chosen of the hero Urta, the worshiper of the great gods, the avenger (of his fathers), the king who trusting in Assur and Shamash, the gods, his helpers, walks righteously and has cut down haughty mountain(eers) and princes who were his enemies, like reeds of the marsh, bringing all lands into subjection under his feet, who provides the offerings for the great gods, the rightful prince who has been permanently intrusted (with the task) of maintaining the cults(?) of the temples of his land, the work of whose hands and the offering of whose sacrifices the great gods of heaven and earth love, and whose priesthood in the temples they have established for all time,—their weapons they presented as my (*v.*, his) royal gift,—the radiance of whose arms and the awe-inspiring splendor of whose rule have made him supreme over the kings of the four quarters (of the world), who has battled with all the enemies of Assur north and south and has laid tribute and tax upon them, conqueror of the foes of Assur; son of Tukulti-Urta, priest of Assur, who overcame all his enemies and fixed the bodies of his foes upon stakes; grandson of Adad-Nirâri, the priest, the viceroy of the great gods, who brought about the overthrow of those that did not obey him and established his sway over all; the descendant of Assur-dân, who freed(?) cities and founded temples. And now at the command of the great gods my sovereignty, my dominion, and my power are manifesting themselves; I am regal, I am lordly, I am exalted, I am mighty, I am honored, I am glorified, I am pre-eminent, I am powerful, I am valiant, I am lion-brave, and I am heroic! (I), Assur-nâsir-pal, the mighty king, the king of Assyria, chosen of Sin, favorite of

Anu, beloved of Adad, mighty one among the gods, I am the merciless weapon that strikes down the land of his enemies; I am a king, mighty in battle, destroying cities and highlands, first in war, king of the four quarters (of the world), who has conquered his foes, destroyed all his enemies, king of all the regions (of earth), of all princes, every one of them, the king who has trampled down all who were not submissive to him, and who has brought under his sway the totality of all peoples. These decrees of destiny came forth at the word of the great gods, and for my destiny they duly ordained them. In (every) desire of my heart and undertaking of my hand, Ishtar, the lady, who loves my priesthood, was gracious unto me and her heart prompted to the waging of war and battle.

439. At that time Assur-nâsir-pal, the exalted prince, who fears the great gods, the desire of whose heart Enlil (Bêl) has caused him to attain, and whose mighty hand has conquered all princes who were disobedient unto him, conqueror of his foes, who shattered the power of the mighty in difficult regions,—when Assur, my great lord, who called me by name and made great my kingship over the kings of the four quarters (of the world), had made my name exceeding great, and had intrusted his merciless weapon unto my lordly power, and in his wrath had commanded me to conquer, to subdue and to rule; trusting in Assur, my lord, I marched by difficult roads over steep mountains with the hosts of my army, and there was none who opposed me.

Year 1. The Assyrian army invades the hills to the east of the Tigris, then swings around to the north and west (Col. I ll. 43–99)

440. In the beginning of my kingship, in the first year of my reign, when Shamash the judge of the (four) regions (of the world) had spread his kindly shadow over me, and I had seated myself upon the royal throne in might, and (when) he

had placed in my hand the scepter, which rules the peoples, I mobilized my chariots and armies, crossed over steep mountains by difficult roads which had not been prepared for the passage of chariots and troops, and marched to the land of Tumme. Libê, their fortified city, and the cities of Surra, Abuku, Arura, and Arubê, which lie among the mountains of Urini, Aruni and Etini, fortified cities, I captured. I slew great numbers of them; their spoil, their possessions and their cattle I carried off. The men escaped, and occupied a steep mountain; the mountain was exceeding steep and I did not go after them. The peak of the mountain rose (*lit.*, lay) like the point of an iron dagger, and no bird of heaven that flies comes to it. Like the nest of the eagle (vulture) their stronghold was situated within the mountain, whereinto none of the kings, my fathers, had penetrated. For (*lit.*, in) three days the warrior searched out the mountain, his stout heart urging to battle; he climbed up on foot, he cast down the mountain, he destroyed their nest, he shattered their host. Two hundred of their fighting men I cut down with the sword; their heavy booty I carried off like a flock of sheep; with their blood I dyed the mountain red like wool; with the rest of them I darkened(?) the gullies and precipices of the mountain; their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. From the land of Tumme I departed, to the land of Kirruri I went down. Tribute from the lands of Kirruri, Simesi, Simera, Ulmania, Adaush, (from) the Hargeans and Harmaseans, —horses, mules, cattle, sheep, wine, vessels of copper, I received as their tribute and I imposed the carrying of the headpad(?) upon them.

441. While I was staying in the land of Kirruri, the awe-inspiring splendor of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed the men of the lands of Gilzani and Hubushkia; horses, silver, gold, lead, copper and vessels of copper they brought to me as their tribute. From the land of Kirruri I departed, and I entered

by the pass of Hulun into the land of Kirhi, which lies inside. The cities of Hatu, Hataru, Nishtun, Irbidi, Mitkia, Arsania, Têla, and Halua, cities of the land of Kirhi which lie among the mighty mountains of Usu, Arua, and Arardi, I captured. Great numbers of them I slew, their spoil and their possessions I carried away. The men escaped and occupied a lofty mountain peak which was over against the city of Nishtun and which was suspended like a cloud from heaven. Against these men, unto whom none among the kings my fathers had come near, my warriors flew like birds. 260 of their fighting men I cut down with the sword, I cut off their heads, and I formed them into pillars. The rest of them built a nest on the rocks of the mountain like a bird. Their spoil and their possessions I brought down from the mountain, and the cities which were in the midst of the mighty ranges, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. All the men who had fled from before my arms came down and embraced my feet. Tribute and tax, and the carrying of the headpad(?) I imposed upon them. Bûbu, son of Bubâ, the governor of the city of Nishtun, I flayed in the city of Arbela and I spread his skin upon the city wall. At that time I fashioned an image of my own likeness, the glory of my power I inscribed thereon, and in the mountain of Eki, in the city of Assur-nâsir-pal, at the (river) source, I set it up.

442. In this (same) eponymy, on the twenty-fourth day of the month *Abu*, at the word of Assur and Ishtar, the great gods, my lords, I departed from Nineveh, against the cities which lie at the foot of the mighty mountains of Nipur and Pasate I marched. I captured the cities of Arkun, Ushhu and Pilazi and twenty cities of their neighborhood. Great numbers (of the inhabitants) I slew, their spoil and their possessions I carried off, their cities I burned with fire. All the men who had fled from before my arms, came down and embraced my feet, and I imposed forced labor upon them.

From the cities at the foot of the mountains of Nipur and Pasate I departed, the Tigris I crossed, and I drew near to the land of Kutmuhi, I received tribute from the lands of Kutmuhi and Mushki,—vessels of copper, cattle, sheep, and wine.

443. While I was staying in the land of Kutmuhi, they brought me the word: "The city of Sûru of Bît-Halupê has revolted, they have slain Hamatai, their governor, and Ahiababa, the son of a nobody, whom they brought from Bît-Adini, they have set up as king over them." With the help of Adad and the great gods who have made great my kingdom, I mobilized (my) chariots and armies and marched along the bank of the Habur. During my advance I received much tribute from Shulmanu-haman-ilâni[1] of the city of Gardiganni, from Ilu-Adad of the city of Katna,—silver, gold, lead, vessels of copper, and garments of brightly colored wool, and garments of linen. To the city of Sûru of Bît-Halupê I drew near, and the terror of the splendor of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed them. The chief men and the elders of the city, to save their lives, came forth into my presence and embraced my feet, saying: "If it is thy pleasure, slay! If it is thy pleasure, let live! That which thy heart desireth, do!" Ahiababa, the son of nobody, whom they had brought from Bît-Adini, I took captive. In the valor of my heart and with the fury of my weapons I stormed the city. All the rebels they seized and delivered them up. My officers I caused to enter into his palace and his temples. His silver, his gold, his goods and his possessions, copper, iron, lead, vessels of copper, cups of copper, dishes of copper, a great hoard of copper, alabaster, tables with inlay, the women of his palaces, his daughters, the captive rebels together with their possessions, the gods together with their possessions, precious stone from the mountains, his chariot with equipment, his horses, broken

[1] For another possible reading of the name see Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. 223.

to the yoke, trappings of men and trappings of horses, garments of brightly colored wool and garments of linen, goodly oil, cedar, and fine sweet-scented herbs, panels(?) of cedar, purple and crimson wool, his wagons, his cattle, his sheep, his heavy spoil, which like the stars of heaven could not be counted, I carried off. Azi-ilu I set over them as my own governor. I built a pillar over against his city gate, and I flayed all the chief men who had revolted, and I covered the pillar with their skins; some I walled up within the pillar, some I impaled upon the pillar on stakes, and others I bound to stakes round about the pillar; many within the border of my own land I flayed, and I spread their skins upon the walls; and I cut off the limbs of the officers, of the royal officers who had rebelled. Ahiababa I took to Nineveh, I flayed him, I spread his skin upon the wall of Nineveh. My power and might I established over the land of Lakê. While I was staying in the city of Sûru, (I received) tribute from all the kings of the land of Lakê,—silver, gold, lead, copper, vessels of copper, cattle, sheep, garments of brightly colored wool, and garments of linen, and I increased the tribute and taxes and imposed them upon them. At that time, the tribute of Haiâni of the city of Hindani,—silver, gold, lead, copper, *umu*-stone, alabaster, purple wool, and (Bactrian) camels I received from him as tribute. At that time I fashioned a heroic image of my royal self, my power and my glory I inscribed thereon, in the midst of his palace I set it up. I fashioned memorial steles and inscribed thereon my glory and my prowess, and I set them up by his city gate.

Year 2. Against the rebels in Halzi-luha and the Kashiari hills (northwest of Assyria) (Col. I, l. 99—Col. II, l. 23)

444. In the eponymy, the year (called by) my name, at the word of Assur, my lord, and Urta, who loves my priesthood, although in the time of the kings, my fathers, no gov-

ernor of the land of Suhi had come unto Assyria, Ilu-ibni, the governor of Suhi, to save his life, together with his brothers and his sons, brought silver and gold as his tribute to Nineveh into my presence. In the same eponymy, while I was staying in Nineveh, they brought the word that the Assyrians and Hulai, their governor, whom Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who preceded me, had settled in the city of Halzi-luha, had revolted and had marched against Damdamusa, my royal city, to take it. At the word of Assur, Ishtar, and Adad, the gods, my helpers, I mustered my chariots and armies.

445. At the source of the river Subnat, where stand the images of Tiglath-pileser and Tukulti-Urta, kings of Assyria, my fathers, I fashioned an image of my royal person, and I set it up beside them. At that time I received the tribute of the land of Isala,—cattle, flocks, and wine. To the mountain of Kashiari I crossed, to Kinabu, the fortified city of Hulai, I drew near. With the masses of my troops and by my furious battle onset I stormed, I captured the city; 600 of their warriors I put to the sword; 3,000 captives I burned with fire; I did not leave a single one among them alive to serve as a hostage. Hulai, their governor, I captured alive. Their corpses I formed into pillars; their young men and maidens I burned in the fire. Hulai, their governor, I flayed, his skin I spread upon the wall of the city of Damdamusa; the city I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The city of Mariru, which was within their borders, I captured. Fifty of their warriors I put to the sword; 200 of their captives I burned with fire. 332 men of the land of Nirbu I slew in a battle on the plain; their spoil, their cattle, and their sheep I carried off. The (men of the) land of Nirbu, which is at the foot of Mount Uhira, had banded themselves together, and had entered the city of Têla, their stronghold. From Kinabu I departed, to the city of Têla I drew near. The city was ex-

ceeding strong and was surrounded by three walls. The men trusted in their mighty walls and in their hosts, and did not come down, and did not embrace my feet. With battle and slaughter I stormed the city and captured it. 3,000 of their warriors I put to the sword; their spoil and their possessions, their cattle and their sheep I carried off. Many captives from among them I burned with fire, and many I took as living captives. From some I cut off their hands and their fingers, and from others I cut off their noses, their ears, and their fingers(?), of many I put out the eyes. I made one pillar of the living, and another of heads, and I bound their heads to posts (tree trunks) round about the city. Their young men (*Col. II*) and maidens I burned in the fire, the city I destroyed, I devastated, I burned it with fire and consumed it. At that time the cities of the land of Nirbi and their strong walls I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

446. From the land of Nirbu I departed, to the city of Tushha I drew near. Tushha I restored. Its ancient wall I destroyed, the site thereof I cleared, I dug down to its foundation, and a new wall, from the foundation unto the coping thereof, I built, I completed, I made it exceeding strong. A palace for my royal dwelling I founded within its gates. That palace I built and I completed from the foundation unto the roof thereof. An image of my likeness I fashioned out of white limestone, my glory, my exceeding great power and my valorous deeds which I had performed in the lands of Nairî, I inscribed thereon, and in the city of Tushha I set it up; and I inscribed a memorial stele and set it in the wall thereof. The poor Assyrians, who by reason of want and hunger had gone up to other (lands and) mountains, into the land of Shuprê, I brought back and I settled them in the city of Tushha. That city I took for my own possession, grain and straw from the land of Nirbi I heaped up therein. The remainder of the men of the land of Nirbi, who had fled from

before my weapons, came down and embraced my feet. In such of their cities and houses as were habitable I settled them, taxes and tribute,—horses, mules, cattle, sheep, wine, vessels of copper—I made heavier than (they were) before and imposed them upon them, their sons I took as hostages.

447. While I was staying in the city of Tushha, I received tribute from Amme-ba'la, the son of Zamâni, from Anhite of the land of Shuprê, and from Lapturi, the son of Tubusi of the land of Nirdun, and tribute from the land of Urume, which lies inside, and from the kings of the lands of Nairî,—chariots, horses, mules, silver, gold, and vessels of copper, cattle, sheep, and wine I received as their tribute. The carrying of the headpad(?) I imposed upon the lands of Nairî. On my return (march), from among the lands of Nairî, the land of Nirbu, which lies in the midst of Mount Kashiari, revolted. Their nine cities they abandoned, and in the city of Ishpilibria, their stronghold, and in the steep mountain, they put their trust. I stormed the mountain peaks and took them. In the midst of the mighty mountain I slaughtered them, with their blood I dyed the mountain red like wool. With the rest of them I darkened the gullies and precipices of the mountains. I carried off their spoil and their possessions. The heads of their warriors I cut off, and I formed them into a pillar over against their city, their young men and their maidens I burned in the fire. The pass of Buliani I entered and I took (the road) along the river Lukia. In my advance I conquered the cities of the land of Kirhi which lie in the pass. I slaughtered their inhabitants in great numbers, I carried off their spoil, the cities I burned with fire. I went forth to the city of Ardupa. At that time I received tribute from Ahiramu, son of Iahiri, of the land of Salli, from the son of Bahiani of the land of Hatti, and from the kings of the land of Hanigalbat,—silver, gold, lead, vessels of copper, cattle, sheep, and horses.

Year 3. Against the rebels of Zamua (east of the Tigris) (Col. II, ll. 23–49)

448. In the eponymy of Assur-idin they brought me word saying: "Nur-Adad, the prince of the land of Dagara, has revolted, (the men) of the whole of the land of Zamua have banded themselves together, and they have built a wall in the pass of Babite"; (and they added) that they were coming to wage battle and war against me. Trusting in Assur, the great lord, my lord, and Nergal, my leader, and the terrible weapons which Assur, my lord, gave to me, I mustered my arms (and) hosts and unto the pass of Babite I marched. The men trusted in the masses of their armies, and made war. With the supreme might of Nergal, my leader, I fought with them, I defeated them, I shattered their host. 1,460 of their warriors I slew in the pass. The cities of Uzê, Birutu, and Lagalaga, their fortresses, together with one hundred cities which lay round about them, I captured. Their spoil, their herds, their cattle, and their sheep I carried off. Nur-Adad went up into the steep mountain to save his life. 12,000 (men) of their armies I carried away.

449. From Dagara I departed, to the city of Bâra I drew near. The city of Bâra I captured; 320 of their fighting men I cut down with the sword; their cattle, their sheep, and their heavy booty I carried off; 300 (men) of their armies I snatched away. On the fifteenth day of the month *Tashritu* I departed from the city of Kakzi, the pass of Babite I entered. From the city of Babite I departed, to Mount Nisir, which (men of) the land of Lullu call Mount Kinipa, I drew near. The city of Bunâsi, their stronghold, belonging to Musasina,[1] and thirty cities of its neighborhood I captured. The men fled and occupied a steep mountain. Assur-nâsir-pal, the hero, pursued them like birds; he piled up their corpses in Mount Nisir, 326 of their warriors he slew. He took

[1] Name of the city's ruler.

his horses from him. With the remainder of them he darkened the gullies and precipices of the mountain. Seven cities, which were in the midst of Mount Nisir and which they had fortified as their strongholds, I captured. Their inhabitants I slew. Their spoil, their possessions, their cattle, and their sheep, I carried off. The cities I burned with fire. To my camp I returned and spent the night.

450. From that camp I departed and I marched against the cities which are upon Mount Nisir, the site of which no man had ever seen. The city of Larbusa, the stronghold of Kirtiara,[1] and eight cities of its neighborhood, I captured. The men fled and occupied a steep mountain. The peak of the mountain rose (*lit.*, lay) like the point of an iron dagger, but the king with his hosts climbed up after them. In the midst of the mountain I cast down their corpses. 172 of their warriors I slew, and great numbers of men I strewed (*lit.*, poured out) upon the rocks of the mountain. Their spoil, their possessions, their cattle, and their sheep, I carried away, their cities I burned with fire. Their heads I bound to tree trunks of the mountain (side), their young men and maidens I burned in the fire, and to my camp I returned and spent the night. From this camp I departed; 150 cities of the (men of) Larbusa, Dûr-Luluma, Bunisa, and Bâra I captured. I slew their inhabitants, I carried off their spoil. The cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Fifty of the men of the city of Bâra I slew in a battle on the plain (open battle).

451. At that time the terrifying splendor of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed the kings of the whole of the land of Zamua, and they embraced my feet. I received horses, silver, and gold (from them). I put all the land under one control;—horses, silver, gold, grain (barley), straw, and forced labor I imposed upon them. From the city of Tukulti-Assur-asbat

[1] Name of the city's ruler.

I departed, (the road) at the foot of Mount Nishpi I took. All night I marched. To the cities which lay afar off in the midst of Mount Nishpi, (and) which Nur-Adad had turned into his strongholds, I came. The city of Birutu I captured, I burned it with fire.

Year 4. A third[1] *campaign against Zamua* (*Col. II, ll. 49–86*)

452. In the eponymy of Limutti-adur, while I was staying in Nineveh, men brought me word that Ameka and Arashtua had withheld the tribute and forced labor due unto Assur, my lord. At the word of Assur, the great lord, my lord, and of Nergal, my leader, on the first day of the month of *Simânu* I ordered a call to arms for the third time against the land of Zamua. I did not wait for my chariots and hosts; I departed from the city of Kakzi, the Lower Zab I crossed. I entered the pass of Babite, I crossed the Radânu, drawing nearer every day to the foot of Mount Simaki. Cattle, sheep and wine, the tribute of the land of Dagara, I received. The ——— chariots and picked cavalry(men) I took with me, and all the night, until the dawn, I marched from (along?) the foot of the mountain of Simaki. I crossed the Turnat, and with all haste(?) to the city of Ammali, the stronghold of Arashtu, I drew near. With battle and assault I stormed the city, I took (it). 800 of their fighting men I struck down with the sword, with their corpses I filled the streets of their city, with their blood I dyed their houses. Many men I captured alive with my hand, and I carried off great spoil from them; the city I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

453. The city of Hudun and twenty cities of its neighborhood I captured; I slew the inhabitants thereof, their spoil, their cattle, and their sheep I carried off; their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire; their young men and their maidens I burned in the flames. The city of Kisirtu,

[1] The campaign of year 1 is regarded as the first.

their stronghold, ruled by (*lit.*, of) Sabini, together with ten cities of its neighborhood, I captured, I slew their inhabitants, their spoil I carried away. The cities of the Bâreans, which were ruled by Kirtiara, and those of the men of Dûra and of Bunisa, as far as the pass of Hashmar, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire, I turned them into mounds and ruins. I departed from the cities of Arashtua,[1] I entered the pass between the steep mountains of Lâra and Bidirgi, which for the passage of chariots and hosts was not suited (*lit.*, laid), to Zamri, the royal city of Ameka of the land of Zamua, I drew near.

454. Ameka became afraid before my mighty weapons and my fierce battle array, and occupied a steep mountain. The goods of his palace and his chariot I carried away; from the city of Zamri I departed. I crossed the Lallû and marched to Mount Etini, a difficult region, which was not suited (*lit.*, laid) for the passage of chariots and armies, and unto which none among the kings, my fathers, had come nigh. The king, together with his armies, climbed up into Mount Etini. His goods and his possessions, many copper utensils, a copper wild-ox, vessels of copper, bowls of copper, cups of copper, the wealth of his palace, his heaped-up treasures, I carried out of the mountain, returned to my camp and spent the night. With the help of Assur and Shamash, the gods, my helpers, I departed from that camp, and I set out after him. I crossed the Edir River and in the midst of the mighty mountains of Sû and Elaniu I slew multitudes of them. His goods and his possessions, a copper wild-ox, vessels of copper, bowls of copper, dishes of copper, many copper utensils, tables which were overlaid with gold, their cattle and their flocks, their possessions, their heavy spoil, from the foot of Mount Elaniu I carried off. I took his horse from him. Ameka, to save his life, climbed up into Mount Sabua.

[1] The ruler's name.

455. The cities of Zamru, Arasitku, Ammaru, Parsindu, Iritu, and Suritu, his strongholds, together with 150 cities which lay round about, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire, into mounds and ruin heaps I turned them. While I was staying before the city of Parsindi, I placed in reserve the cavalry and pioneers (sappers). Fifty of Ameka's warriors I slew in the field, I cut off their heads and bound them to the tree trunks within his palace court. Twenty men I captured alive and I immured them in the wall of his palace. From the city of Zamri I took with me the cavalry and pioneers, and marched against the cities of Ata,[1] of Arzizu, unto which none among the kings my fathers had come nigh. The cities of Arzizu and Arsindu, his strongholds, together with ten cities which lay round about on the steep mountain of Nispi, I captured. I slew the inhabitants thereof; the cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire, and returned to my camp.

456. At that time I received copper,—*tabbili* of copper, and rings(?) of copper, and many *shariâte* from the land of Sipirmena who(se inhabitants?) speak like women.

457. From the city of Zamri I departed and into the difficult mountain of Lâra, which was not suited for the passage of chariots and armies, with hatchets of iron I cut and with axes of bronze I hewed (a way), and I brought over the chariots and troops and came down to the city of Tukulti-Assur-asbat, which the men of the land of Lullu call Arakdi. All the kings of the land of Zamua were affrighted before the fury of my arms and the terror of my dominion, and embraced my feet. Tribute and tax,—silver, gold, lead, copper, vessels of copper, garments of brightly colored wool, horses, cattle, sheep, and wine I laid upon them (in greater measure) than before and used their forced laborers in the city of Calah. While I was staying in the land of Zamua, the men of the

[1] Man's name.

cities Huduni, Hartishi, Hubushkia and Gilzani were overwhelmed with the terrifying splendors of Assur, my lord, and they brought me tribute and tax,—silver, gold, horses, garments of brightly colored wool, cattle, flocks, and wine. The people, such as had fled from before my arms, climbed up into the mountains. I pursued them. Between the mountains of Aziru and Simaki they had settled themselves, and had made the city of Mesu their stronghold. Mount Aziru I destroyed, I devastated, and from the midst of Mount Simaki as far as the river Turnat I strewed their corpses. 500 of their warriors I slew and carried off their heavy spoil, the cities I burned with fire.

458. At that time, in the land of Zamua, the city of Atlila, which for the scepter of the king of Karduniash they had seized, had decayed and had become (*lit.*, turned into) a mound and ruin heap. Assur-nâsir-pal restored it. I surrounded it with a wall, and I erected therein a palace for my royal dwelling, I adorned it and made it glorious and greater than it was before. Grain and straw from the whole land I heaped up within it, and I called its name Dûr-Assur.

Year 5. Against Kutmuhu (Commagene) and Zamani (Col. II, ll. 86–125)

459. On the first day of the month *Simânu*, in the eponymy of Sha-ilima-damka, I mobilized my chariots and my armies, I crossed the Tigris and entered the land of Kutmuhi. I opened a palace in the city of Tiluli and received the tribute of the land of Kutmuhi. From the land of Kutmuhi I departed, and I entered the pass of Ishtarâti (the goddesses). In the city of Kibaki I spent the night and I received cattle, flocks, wine, vessels of copper,—the tribute of the city of Kibaki. From the city of Kibaki I departed and I drew nigh unto the city of Matiati. The city of Matiati together with its villages I captured. 2,800 of their fighting men I cut down

with the sword, their great spoil I carried off. All the men who had fled before my arms (now) embraced my feet, and I caused them to reoccupy their cities, I imposed tribute, tax, and overseers, more stringently upon them. I fashioned an image in my own likeness, (the record of) my victorious might I inscribed thereon, and set it up in the city of Matiati.

460. From the city of Matiati I departed and in the city of Zazabuha I spent the night. I received the tribute of the land of Kirhi,—cattle, flocks, wine, vessels of copper, copper wild-oxen, (and) beakers of copper. From the city of Zazabuha I departed, I spent the night at the city of Irsia. The city of Irsia I burned with fire. The tribute of the city of Sûra,—cattle, flocks, wine, vessels of copper, I received in the city of Irsia.

461. From the city of Irsia I departed, and spent the night in the mountain of Kashiari. The city of Madaranzu, and two cities of its environs, I captured, slew their inhabitants, carried off their spoil, and burned the cities with fire. For six days in the midst of the mighty mountain of Kashiari, a difficult region which was not suited for the passage of chariots and troops, with hatchets of iron I cut and with axes of bronze I hewed a way through, and I brought over the chariots and troops. In the cities which were along my path in the midst of the mountain of Kashiari I received cattle, flocks, wine, vessels of copper, and beakers of copper. I crossed over the mountain of Kashiaru and for the second time I went down into the lands of Nairî. In the city of Shinigisha I spent the night. From the city of Sinigisha I departed and I drew nigh unto the city of Madara, the stronghold of Lapturi, the son of Tubusi. The city was exceeding strong and surrounded with four walls. I stormed the city, and they became frightened before my mighty arms, and their goods, their possessions, and their sons, I received as gifts from them. I had mercy on them and spared their

lives. Tribute, tax, and overseers, I imposed upon them. The city I destroyed and devastated, and I turned it into a mound and ruin heap. From the city of Madara I departed, into the city of Tushhan I entered.

462. I opened a palace in the city of Tushhan. The tribute of the land of Nirdun,—horses, mules, vessels of copper, beakers of copper, cattle, flocks, and wine I received in the city of Tushhan. Sixty strong, walled cities at the foot of the mountain of Kashiari, which (were ruled by) Lapturi, the son of Tubusi, I destroyed and devastated, I turned them into mounds and ruin heaps.

463. With the help of Assur, my lord, I departed from the city of Tushhan. The ——— chariots and picked cavalry I took with me, and on rafts I crossed the Tigris. All night I marched and I drew nigh unto Pitura, the stronghold of the men of the land of Dirra. The city was exceeding strong, and was surrounded with two walls. Its citadel was like a mountain peak. With the supreme might of Assur, my lord, with the multitude of my hosts and with my furious battle onslaught I fought with them. For two days, from before sunrise, I thundered against them like Adad, (the god) of the storm, and I rained down flame upon them. With courage and might my warriors flew against them like Zû, (the Storm-bird). I took the city, and 800 of their fighting men I put to the sword, and cut off their heads. Multitudes I captured alive, and the rest of them I burned with fire, and carried off their heavy spoil. I formed a pillar of the living and of heads over against his city gate and 700 men I impaled on stakes over against their city gate. The city I destroyed, I devastated, and I turned it into a mound and ruin heap. Their young men and their maidens I burned in the fire.

464. The city of Kûkunu, which is at the mouth of the pass of Mount Matni, I captured. 700 of their fighting men

I put to the sword, and their great spoil I carried away. Fifty cities of the land of Dira I captured, I slew their inhabitants, and I carried off their spoil; fifty men I captured alive, the cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The terrifying splendor of my dominion I poured out over them.

465. From the city of Bitura I departed, and I went down unto the city of Arbaki in the land of Kirhi, which lies within. They were frightened by the terrifying splendor of my majesty, and they tore down their cities and their walls, and, to save their lives, they climbed up into the mighty mountain of Matni. After them I marched and slaughtered 1,000 of their fighting men in the midst of the steep mountain; with their blood I dyed the mountain, and with their corpses I filled the chasms and ravines of the mountain. 200 men I captured alive, I cut off their hands (arms). 2,000 prisoners I carried away. Their cattle and their flocks in countless numbers I carried off. Iiaia and Salaniba, the fortresses of the city of Arbaki, I captured, I slew their inhabitants, and I carried off their spoil. 250 strong, walled cities in the lands of Nairî I destroyed, I devastated, and I turned them into mounds and ruin heaps. The harvest of their land I gathered, grain and straw I heaped up in the city of Tushha.

466. Against Amme-ba'la, the son of Zamâni, his nobles revolted, and they slew him. To avenge Amme-ba'la I marched forth. Before the fury of my arms and the terror of my dominion they were (*v.*, he was) affrighted; and chariots equipped with their quotas of men and horses, 460 of his horses, broken to the yoke, two talents of silver, two talents of gold, 100 talents of lead, 100 talents of copper, 300 talents of iron, 100 vessels of bronze, 3,000 pans of copper, bowls of copper, caldrons of copper, and 1,000 garments made of brightly colored wool, and linen garments, vessels of *SHA*-wood, ivory couches overlaid with gold, the treasures of

his palace, 2,000 head of cattle, 5,000 sheep, his sister with her rich dowry, and the daughters of his nobles with their rich dowries, I received.

Summary of the king's conquests and announcement of the removal of the capital to Calah (Col. II, ll. 125–35)

467. Assur-nâsir-pal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Tukulti-Urta, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; the valiant hero who with the help of Assur, his lord, marches forth, and among the princes of the four quarters (of the world) has no rival; the king, who from beyond the Tigris even to Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea, has brought into submission at his feet the whole of the land of Lakê, the land of Suhi, as far as the city Rapiku, and whose hand has conquered (the territory) from the source of the river Subnat even to the pass which lies thereby (*lit.*, inside). (The region) from the pass of Kirruri to the land of Gilzâni, and from beyond the Lower Zâb to the city of Tilbâri, which is above the land of Zaban, and from the city of Til-sha-Abtani to the city of Til-sha-Zabdani, the cities of Hirimu and Harutu, fortresses of the land of Karduniash, I have added unto the border of my land. The broad lands of Nairî in their length and breadth I have brought under my sway. The city of Calah I have taken anew (as a dwelling); the ancient mounds I destroyed, I dug down to the water level,—120 *tipki* I penetrated into the depth. The temple of Urta, my lord, I founded therein.

468. When I had fashioned that image of Urta—of whom there had not been one before—according to the prompting of my heart, as the protecting image of his great divinity—with the choicest stone from the mountain and with ruddy

gold, I accounted (it) my great divinity in the city of Calah, and I established feasts in his honor in the months *Shabâtu* and *Ululu*. That temple I constructed of burnt brick and the shrine of Urta, my lord, I made glorious therein. The temples of Bêlit-mâti (the Lady of the Land), of Sin, and of Gula; an image of Ea-sharri, and an image of Adad, the ruler of heaven and earth, I founded.

Year 6. Southwestward across Mesopotamia, to Hindâni, on the further (south) bank of the Euphrates, then down the Euphrates, via Anah (Col. III, ll. 1–26)

469. On the twenty-second day of the month of *Simânu*, in the eponymy of Dagan-bêl-nâsir, I departed from the city of Calah, crossed over the Tigris, and on that side of the Tigris I received much tribute. I spent the night in the city of Tabite. On the sixth day of the month of *Dûzu* I departed from the city of Tabite, and I marched unto the district of the river Harmish, I spent the night in the city of Magarisi. From the city of Magarisi I departed, and I marched to the district of the river Habur. I spent the night in the city of Gardiganni. The tribute of Gardiganni,—silver, gold, lead, vessels of copper, cattle, and flocks, I received. From the city of Gardiganni I departed. I spent the night in the city of Katni, and I received the tribute of the Katnites. From the city of Katni I departed. I spent the night in the city of Dûr-katlime. From the city of Dûr-katlime I departed. I spent the night in the city of Bît-halupê, and the tribute of the city of Bît-halupê,—silver, gold, lead, vessels of copper, garments of brightly colored wool, and linen garments, cattle, and flocks I received. From the land of Bît-halupê I departed. I spent the night in the city of Sirki, and the tribute of the men of the city of Sirki,—silver, gold, lead, vessels, cattle, and flocks I received. From the city of Sirki I departed. I spent the night in the city of Supri,

and the tribute of the men of the city of Supri,—silver, gold, lead, vessels, cattle, and flocks I received. From the city of Supri I departed. I spent the night in the city of Nakarabani, and the tribute of the city of Nakarabani,—silver, gold, lead, vessels, cattle, and flocks I received. From the city of Nakarabani I departed. I spent the night in front of the city of Hindâni—the city of Hindâni lies on the further bank of the Euphrates. And the tribute of the men of Hindâni,—silver gold, lead, vessels, cattle, and flocks I received. From the city of Hindâni I departed. I spent the night on a mountain (*i.e.*, a plateau) hard by the Euphrates. From the mountain I departed. In Bît-Shabâia, over against the city of Haridi, I spent the night,—the city of Haridi lies on the further bank of the Euphrates. From Bît-Shabâia I departed. In front of the city of Anat I spent the night,—the city of Anat lies in the middle of the Euphrates. From the city of Anat I departed.

470. The city of Sûru, the stronghold of Kudurru, the governor of the land of Suhi, I stormed. In the widespreading hosts of the Kassites he trusted, and came forth against me, offering battle and combat. The city I stormed, and for two days I fought a battle within it. Before my mighty arms, Kudurru, together with seventy of his men, to save his life, cast himself into the Euphrates. I took the city, and fifty cavalrymen, together with the troops of Nabû-apal-iddina, king of Karduniash (Babylonia), and Sabdânu, his brother, together with 3,000 of their fighting men, and Bêl-apal-iddina, the seer who led their forces, I captured along with them. Many men I cut down with the sword. Silver, gold, lead, vessels, precious stone from the mountain, the possessions from his palace, chariots, his horses, broken to the yoke, trappings of men, trappings of horses, the women of his palaces,—a heavy booty, I carried off. The city I destroyed, I devastated. Power and might I established over the land of Suhi. The fear of my dominion extended to the

land of Karduniash, and the chilling fear of my arms overwhelmed the land of Kaldu. Over the mountains, on the banks of the Euphrates, I poured out terror. A statue in my (own) image I fashioned. (The record of) my power and might I inscribed (thereon). In the city of Sûri I set it up. (*The inscription reads:*) "Assur-nâsir-pal, the king whose glory and might are enduring, whose countenance is set toward the desert, whose heart desires to make broad his protection(?)."

Against Hindâni of Lakê, and Suhi—year not given (Col. III, ll. 26–50)

471. While I was staying in the city of Calah, they brought me tidings, saying: "The men of the land of Lakê, the city of Hindâni, and the land of Suhi have revolted, and have crossed over the Euphrates."

472. On the eighteenth day of the month of *Simânu* I departed from the city of Calah, I crossed the Tigris, and I marched into the desert. To the city of Sûri in Bît-Hulupê (*v.*, Halupê) I drew nigh. Ships of my own I built in the city of Sûri, and I marched up to the Euphrates, and (from there) descended as far as the narrows of the Euphrates. The cities of Henti-ilu, and of Azi-ilu of the land of Lakê I captured, I slew their inhabitants, I carried off their spoil. The cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. On my march I swung around from the mouth of the river Habur to the city of Sibate in the land of Suhi. The cities which lie on this side the Euphrates in the land of Lakê and in the land of Suhi I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Their harvest I reaped, and 470 of their fighting men I put to the sword. Twenty (*v.*, 30) men I took alive and upon stakes I impaled them. In the ships which I had built,[1] vessels made of skins, which for transport carry (loads) from twenty (*gur*) and

[1] *Or*, in ships which they built.

upward,[1] at the city of Haridi I crossed over the Euphrates. The men of the lands of Suhi and Lakê and the city of Hindânu trusted in the multitude of their chariots, their hosts, and their forces. 6,000 of their hosts they mobilized, and advanced against me, offering battle and combat. I fought with them. I overthrew them, I destroyed their chariots, 6,500 of their warriors I cut down with the sword, the rest of them I consumed with thirst in the desert of the Euphrates. From the city of Haridi in the land of Suhi as far as the city of Kipina, I captured the cities of the men of Hindânu, and of the men of Lakê, which lie on the further bank, I slew their inhabitants, I carried off their spoil, the cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Azi-ilu of the land of Lakê trusted in his own might and sought cover(?) in the city of Kipina. I fought with them, (and forced him), defeated, from Kipina. 1,000 of his fighting men I slew, I destroyed his chariots, his rich spoil I carried off, and I took away his gods. To save his life he occupied the steep mountain of Bisuru, which is over against the Euphrates. For two days I pursued him. The remainder of his armies I put to the sword. What was left of them (*lit.*, the rest of them) the mountain by the Euphrates consumed. As far as Dummete (and) Asmu, cities of the men of Adini, I pursued him, and the rest of his hosts I put to the sword. His heavy spoil, his cattle, his flocks, which were countless in number as the stars of heaven, I carried off. At that time Ilâ of the land of Lakê, and his chariots,—equipped, (and) 500 of his troops, I tore away and I brought them to my land of Assyria. The cities of Dummutu (and) Asmu I captured, I devastated, I destroyed, I burned with fire. From the narrows of the Euphrates I came forth, and (so) made the round on my march.

473. In order to save his life, Azi-ilu fled from before my mighty arms. Ilâ, the prince of the land of Lakê, his hosts,

[1] So King translates a very difficult passage.

his chariots, his teams I tore away, and brought them to my city of Assur. Himti-ilu of the land of Lakê I shut up in his city. Through the help of Assur, my lord, at my mighty arms and my furious battle onset and my equipped forces, he became frightened, and I received from him the possessions of his palace,—silver, gold, lead, copper, vessels of copper, and garments made of brightly colored wool—his heavy spoil; the tribute and tax I increased more than before and I laid it upon them.

At that time on the farther side of Euphrates I slew fifty mighty wild bulls, and eight wild bulls I captured alive, and I slew twenty *MAL-SHIR*-birds, and twenty *MAL-SHIR*-birds I captured alive. Two cities I founded upon the Euphrates; the one on this side of the Euphrates I named Kâr-Assur-nâsir-pal, and the one on the farther side of the Euphrates I named Nibarti-Assur.

Against Bît-Adini—year not given (Col. III, ll. 50–56)

474. On the twentieth day of the month *Simânu* I departed from the city of Calah, I crossed the Tigris, and I marched to the land of Bît-Adini. To the city of Kaprabi, their stronghold, I drew nigh. The city was exceeding strong, and hung down like a cloud from heaven. The inhabitants put their trust in their numerous hosts, and they did not come down, they did not embrace my feet. By the command of Assur, the great lord, my lord, and of Nergal, who goes before me, I stormed the city. With mines and battering-rams and siege engines, I took it, and I slew many of the inhabitants thereof. 800 of their fighting men I slaughtered, their spoil and their possessions I carried off. 2,400 of their troops I transported, and I settled them in the city of Calah. The city I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire, I consumed it. I established the terrifying splendor of Assur, my lord, over Bît-Adini. At that time I received the tribute

of Ahuni of (the land of) Adini, and of Habini of the city of Til-abnâ,—silver, gold, lead, copper, garments made of brightly colored wool, and linen garments, beams of cedar-wood, the treasure of his palace. I took hostages from them, and I had mercy upon them.

Another raid through Bît-Adini and Hattina, to Mount Amanus and the Mediterranean—no year given (Col. III, ll. 56–92)

475. On the eighth day of the month *Ululu* I departed from the city of Calah, I crossed the Tigris, (and) I took the road to Carchemish in the land of Hatte. Unto Bît-Bahiani I drew nigh. The tribute of the inhabitants of Bahiani,—chariots, equipped with horses, silver, gold, lead, copper, vessels of copper I received. The chariots, the cavalrymen, and the foot soldiers of the Bahianeans I took with me. I departed from Bît-Bahiani. Unto the land of Asalli I drew nigh. The tribute of Adad-'ime of the land of Salli,—chariots, equipped with horses, silver, gold, lead, copper, vessels of copper, cattle, flocks, and wine I received. The chariots, the cavalrymen, the foot soldiers I took with me. From the land of Asalli I departed. Unto Bît-Adini I drew nigh. The tribute of Ahuni of the land of Adini,—silver, gold, lead, copper, vessels of copper, tables of ivory, a bed of ivory and *SHA*-wood, ivory, chairs of ivory overlaid with silver and gold, a ring of gold, an ornamented clasp(?) of gold, *gagi* of gold, a golden dagger, cattle, flocks, and wine I received as his tribute. The chariots, the cavalrymen and the foot soldiers of Ahuni I took with me. At that time the tribute of Habini of the city of Til-abnâ—four minas of silver, and 400 sheep I received from him, and ten minas of silver I imposed upon him as a yearly tribute. From the land of Bît-Adini I departed.

476. I crossed the Euphrates at its flood in ships made of skins, (and) I drew nigh to Carchemish. The tribute of

Sangara, king of the land of Hatte,—twenty talents of silver, a clasp(?) of gold, a ring of gold, golden daggers, 100 talents of copper, 250 talents of iron, copper wild-oxen(?), vessels of copper, bowls of copper, and a brazier of copper, the rich furniture of his palace, whose weight could not be computed, beds of boxwood, chairs of boxwood, and tables of boxwood inlaid with ivory, 200 maidens, garments made of brightly colored wool, and linen garments, blue and purple wool, *SHIR-NU-MA*-stone, elephants' tusks, a gorgeous chariot, a couch of gold, worthily adorned for his royal splendor, I received from him. The chariots, the cavalrymen, and the foot soldiers of the city of Carchemish I took with me. The kings of all the lands came unto me and embraced my feet. I took hostages from them. Before me they rose up(?), to the Lebanon they marched. From Carchemish I departed, and between the mountains of Munzigani and Hamurga I marched. The land of Ahânu I kept on my left hand. To the city of Hazazi, belonging to Lubarna of the land of Hattina, I drew nigh,—gold, garments (of wool), linen garments I received. I passed on, I crossed the Aprê River, and spent the night.

477. From the river Aprê I departed, to Kunulua, the royal city of Lubarna of Hattina, I drew nigh. Before my terrible weapons and my furious battle array he became frightened, and to save his life he laid hold of my feet. Twenty talents of silver, one talent of gold, 100 talents of lead, 100 talents of iron, 1,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep, 1,000 garments made of brightly colored wool, linen garments, a couch of boxwood which was sumptuously inlaid, beds of boxwood, beds which were sumptuously inlaid, many tables of ivory and of boxwood, whereof the weight could not be computed, 10 female musicians, [his brother's daughter with her rich dowry[1], and a great *pagutu*, and mighty ——— I received from him as his tribute, and I had

mercy upon him. The chariots, the horsemen, and the foot soldiers of the land of Hattina I took with me, and hostages I received from him. At that time the tribute of Gûsi of the land of Iahani,—silver, gold, lead [copper], cattle, sheep, garments made of brightly colored wool, and linen garments.

478. From Kunulua, the royal city of Lubarna of the land of Hattina, I departed. I crossed the river ⌜Orontes⌝ and I spent the night. From the river Orontes (Arantu) I departed and between the mountain of Iaraki and Ia'turi I marched. The land of —ku I traversed, and I halted (for the night) upon the river Sangura. From the river Sangura I departed and between the mountains of Saratini and Duppâni I marched, and by the [lakes?] I halted (for the night). Into Aribua, the royal city of Lubarna of the land of Hattina, I entered. The city I took for my own possession; grain and straw from the land of Luhuti I gathered and I heaped them up therein, and I held a feast in his palace. Men from Assyria I settled therein. While I was staying in the city of Aribua, I captured the cities of the land of Luhuti, I slew many of their inhabitants. I destroyed, I devastated, I burned (the cities) with fire. (Their) men I took alive, I impaled them on stakes over against their cities.

479. At that time I marched along the side of Mount Lebanon, and to the Great Sea of the land of Amurru I went up. In the Great Sea I washed my weapons, and I made offerings unto the gods. The tribute of the kings of the sea-coast, of the people of Tyre, Sidon, Gebail (Byblos), Mahalata, Maisa, Kaisa, Amurru, and Arvad, which lies in the midst of the sea,—silver, gold, lead, copper, vessels of copper, garments made of brightly colored wool, linen garments, a great *pagutu*, and a small *pagutu*, maple-wood, boxwood, and ivory, and a dolphin ("sea-horse"),[1] a creature of the sea, I received as tribute from them, and they embraced my

[1] Cf. § 298.

feet. Into Mount Amanus I climbed up, and beams of cedar, cypress, juniper, and pine I cut down. I made offerings unto the gods, and I fashioned a memorial (stele) of my valor, and there I set it up. The beams of cedar from Mount Amanus were an offering (*or*, I offered) to Esharra, to my temple, (where) I was sumptuously fashioning a chamber of rejoicing for the temple of Sin and Shamash, the gods of light (*lit.*, shining gods). Unto the land of *mehru*-trees (*i.e.*, Mehri) I went, and the whole of the land of *mehru*-trees I conquered. I cut down beams of *mehru*-wood, and brought them to Nineveh, and to Ishtar, the lady of Nineveh, my lady, I presented them.

Year 18. Against Kutmuhu (Commagene) and Zamani (Col. III, ll. 92–113)

480. In the eponymy of Shamash-nûri, by the command of Assur, the great lord, my lord, on the twentieth day of the month *Ululu* I departed from the city of Calah, I crossed the Tigris, and I went down unto the land of Kipani. The tribute of the rulers of the lands of Kipani I received in the city of Huzirina. While I remained in the city of Huzirina, tribute from Itti' of the land of Salla, and from Giridadi of the land of Ashsha,—silver, gold, cattle, and flocks I received. At that time I also received beams of cedar, silver, gold, the tribute of Katazilu of the land of Kummuhi.[1] From the city of Huzirina I departed, and I marched up stream alongside the Euphrates. The land of Kubbu I traversed, and I went down into the midst of the cities of the lands of Ashsha and of Kirhi which are before the land of Hatti. The cities of Umalia and Hirânu, strongholds which lie in the midst of the land of Adani, I captured. I slew many of the inhabitants thereof, and their spoil in countless quantities I carried off. The cities

[1] The gentilic Kummuhai shows that the older form (Kutmuhu) had become Kummuhu in Assur-nâsir-pal's day.

I destroyed, I devastated. 150 cities which lay about them I burned with fire. From the city of Karania I departed, and I entered the pass of the mountain of Amadani, and I went down into the midst of the cities of the land of Dirria. The cities which lie between the mountains of Amadani and of Arkania I burned with fire, and the land of Mallânu which is in the midst of the mountain of Arkania I took for my own possession. From the land of Mallânu I departed, unto the cities of the land of Zamba, which lay beside my path, I burned with fire. I crossed the river Sûa and I halted (for the night) by the Tigris. The cities on that side and on this side of the Tigris in the mountain of Arkânia I turned into mounds and ruin heaps. The whole of the land of Kirhi became frightened and embraced my feet, I took hostages from them, my own governor I appointed over them. From the pass of the mountain of Amadani I went forth unto the city of Barzanishtun. Unto the city of Damdammusa, the stronghold of Ilani of Zamani, I drew nigh. I stormed the city; my warriors flew like birds against them. 600 of their fighting men I struck down with the sword, I cut off their heads. 400 men I took alive, 3,000 prisoners I brought out. That city I took for my own possession. The living men and the heads I carried to Amedi, his royal city, I made a pillar of heads in front of his city gate, the living men I impaled on stakes round about his city. I fought a battle within his city gate, I cut down his orchards. From the city of Amedi I departed. I entered the pass of the mountain of Kashiari (and) of the city of Allabrâ, wherein none among the kings, my fathers, had set foot, or had made an expedition thereto. Unto the city of Uda, the stronghold of Lapturi, the son of Tubusi, I drew nigh. I stormed the city; with mines, siege engines, and battering-rams I took the city. 1,400+ of their fighting men I put to the sword, 580 men I captured alive, 3,000 prisoners I brought out. The living men I impaled on

stakes round about his city, of the others I put out the eyes. The rest of them I transported and brought to Assyria. The city I took for my own possession.

In praise of the king—summary of conquests (Col. III, ll. 113–32)

481. Assur-nâsir-pal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Urta, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; the valiant hero, who marches forth trusting in Assur, his lord, and among the princes of the four quarters (of the world) has no rival; the wonderful shepherd, who fears not the battle; the mighty flood who has none to oppose; the king who has brought to subjection those that were not subject unto him, has brought under his sway the totality of all men; the mighty hero, who has trampled on the neck of his foes, who has trodden down all enemies, who has shattered the power of the strong; who with the help of the great gods, his lords, marches forth, whose hand has conquered all lands, who has brought under his sway all the mountain regions and has received their tribute, taking hostages and establishing might over all countries!

482. When Assur, the lord who called me by my name and made great my kingdom, intrusted his merciless weapon unto my lordly power, I overthrew in battle the widespreading hosts of the Lulumê. With the help of Shamash and Adad, the gods, my helpers, over the hosts of the lands of Nairî, of Kirhi, of Shubarê, and of Nirbe, I thundered like Adad, the Storm(-god). (I am) the king, who, from beyond the Tigris even to Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea has brought into subjection under his feet the whole of the land of Lakê, the land of Suhi as far as the city of Rapiku, and has conquered

with his hand (the region) from the source of the river Subnat even to the pass which lies inside. (The region) from the pass of Kirruri to the land of Gilzani, from beyond the Lower Zâb to the city of Til-bâri, which is above the land of Zaban, and as far as the cities of Til-sha-Zabdani and Til-sha-abtani, the cities of Hirimu and Harutu, the fortresses of the land of Karduniash, I have added to the border of my land, (the inhabitants of the countries) from the pass of Babite to the land of Hashmar I have reckoned as peoples of my land. In the lands which I have brought under my sway I have appointed my governors; and vassalage, service, and forced labor have I laid upon them.

483. Assur-nâsir-pal, the exalted prince, the worshiper of the great gods, the courageous ruler, the conqueror of cities and mountains to their farthest border, king of lords, the consumer of the wicked, the merciless hero, the destroyer of opposition, the king of all princes, the king of kings, the exalted priest, the chosen of the hero Urta, the mighty one among (*or*, the beloved of) the great gods, the king who with the help of Assur and Urta, the gods, his helpers, has walked righteously, and has brought into subjection under his feet proud mountain(eers) and princes, who were his enemies, and the whole of their lands; who has fought with the enemies of Assur in the upper and in the lower countries, and has laid tribute and tax upon them. Assur-nâsir-pal, the mighty king, the chosen of Sin, the favorite of Anu, the beloved of Adad, the mighty one among the gods, the merciless weapon which overthrows the land of his enemies, am I; the king, mighty in battle, the destroyer of cities and mountains, first in war, the king of the four quarters (of the world), the conqueror of his foes, who has cast into subjection under his feet mighty countries, and [proud] mountains, valiant and merciless kings from the rising of the sun unto the setting of the same, and has forced them to acknowledge one supremacy.

The rebuilding of Calah (Col. III, ll. 132–36)

484. The former city of Calah, which Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who preceded me, had built,—that city had fallen into decay, and lay in ruins, it was turned into a mound and ruin heap. That city I built anew, peoples whom my hand had conquered, from the lands which I had subdued, from the land of Suhi, from the land of Lakê, in its entirety, from the city of Sirku on the other side of the Euphrates, from the land of Zamua to its farthest border, from Bît-Adini and the land of Hatte, and of Liburna of the land of Hattini, I took and I settled therein. I dug a canal from the Upper Zâb, and I named it Pati-hegalli. I laid out orchards round about it, fruit and wine I offered unto Assur, my lord, and (in) the (other) temples of my land. The ancient mound I removed, I dug down to the water level, 120 *tipki* I descended into the depth. I built the wall thereof; from its foundation unto its top I built and completed it.

II. THE STANDARD INSCRIPTION

485. The "Standard Inscription" was engraved on the slabs, sculptured or plain, of the royal palace at Calah (Nimrûd). It is a summary of the king's conquests, including the submission of Lubarna of Hattina, referred to in the undated campaign just preceding that of the eighteenth year (§ 477). The text was published in Layard, *Inscriptions*, Plates 1 f., and again in *AKA*, pp. 212 f., and Le Gac, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 f. See also Speleers, *Recueil des Inscriptions*, Nos. 319 f.

486. Palace of Assur-nâsir-pal, the priest of Assur, the favorite of Enlil (Bêl) and Urta, the beloved of Anu and Dagan, the strong one among the great gods, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Tukulti-Urta, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; the valiant hero, who goes hither and yon, trusting in Assur, his lord, who is without a rival among the princes of the four

quarters (of the world); the wonderful shepherd, who fears not the battle; the mighty flood who is without a conqueror; the king who has brought to subjection those who were not submissive to him, and has brought under his sway the totality of all peoples; the mighty hero, who tramples on the neck of his foes, treads down all enemies, and who shatters the power of the strong; the king who goes hither and yon, trusting in the great gods, his lords, and whose hand has conquered all lands, who has brought under his sway all mountain(regions) and has received their tribute, taking hostages and establishing his might over all lands!

487. When Assur, the lord who called me by my name and has made great my kingdom, intrusted his merciless weapon unto my lordly power, I overthrew in battle the widespreading hosts of the Lulumê. With the help of Shamash and Adad, the gods, my helpers, I thundered over the hosts of the Nairî-lands, Kirhi, Shubarê and Nirib, like Adad, the destroyer. (I am) the king, who, from beyond the Tigris unto Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea, has brought in submission at his feet the whole land of Lakê, (and) Suhi, as far as the city of Rapiku, whose hand has conquered (the territory) from the source of the river Subnat to the land of Urartu (Armenia). From the pass of Kirruri to the land of Gilzani, and from beyond the Lower Zab to the city of Til-bâri, which is above the land of Zaban, from Til-sha-Abtani and Til-sha-Zabdani, Hirimu and Harutu, the fortresses of the land of Karduniash (Babylonia), I have added to the border of my land, and (the inhabitants of the countries) from the pass of Babite to the land of Hashmar I have reckoned as peoples of my land. In the lands which I have brought under my sway I have appointed my governors, the performance of service (I have laid upon them).

488. Assur-nâsir-pal, the exalted prince, who fears the

great gods, the powerful lord, conqueror of cities and mountains to their farthest border, the king of lords, who consumes the wicked, who is crowned with splendor, who is fearless in battle, the unsparing leader, the destroyer of opposition, the king of glory, the shepherd, the protector of the (four) quarters (of the world); the king, the word of whose mouth destroys mountains and seas, who by his lordly attack has forced mighty and merciless kings from the rising to the setting sun to acknowledge one rule.

489. The former city of Calah, which Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who lived (*lit.*, went) before me, had built, that city had fallen into ruins and lay prostrate. That city I built anew, and the peoples whom my hand had conquered, from the lands which I had brought under my sway, from the land of Suhi, from the whole land of Lakê, from the city of Sirku which is on the other side of the Euphrates, from the farthest border of the land of Zamua, from Bît-Adini and the land of Hatte, and from Lubarna,[1] (ruler) of the land of Hattini, I took and I settled them therein. The ancient mound I destroyed, and I dug down to the water level, I went down 120 *tipki*. A palace of cedar, cypress, juniper, boxwood, mulberry, pistachio-wood, and tamarisk, for my royal dwelling and for my lordly pleasure for all time I founded therein. Beasts of the mountains and of the seas of white limestone and alabaster I fashioned, and set them up in its gates, I adorned it, I made it glorious, and put copper clothes-hooks all around it. Door-leaves of cedar, cypress, juniper, and mulberry I hung in the gates thereof; and silver, gold, lead, copper, and iron, the spoil of my hand from the lands which I had brought under my sway, in great quantities I took and I placed therein.

[1] Also given as Luburna in some texts.

III. THE GREAT MONOLITH

490. The Great Monolith, or sculptured stele of Assur-nâsir-pal (British Museum, No. 847), from the entrance to the Urta temple at Calah, contained the annals of the first five years of the king's reign. This fixes its date. Only the Introduction and concluding building inscription have been published and are here translated (text, Cols. I, ll. 1–11, and Col. V, IR, Plate 27; *AKA*, pp. 242 f.; Le Gac, *op. cit.*, pp. 129 f.)

Invocation of the gods (Col. I, ll. 1–11)

491. O Assur, the great lord, the king of all the great gods! Anu, the mighty, the pre-eminent, who ordains the decrees (of the gods)! Ea, king of the abyss, lord of wisdom, the knowing one! Sin, the wise, the lord of the disk, who is full of splendor! Marduk, the master, the lord of oracles! Adad, the mighty, the strong one of the gods, the supreme! Urta, the valiant, the hero of the gods, who strikes down the wicked! Nusku, who bears a shining scepter, the exalted god! Ninlil (Bêlit), the spouse of Enlil (Bêl), the mother of the great gods! Nergal, the perfect, the king of battle! Enlil (Bêl), the supreme, the father of the gods, creator of all things! Shamash, the judge of heaven and earth, the ruler of all! Ishtar, first in heaven and on earth, who fills full the measure of bravery! Ye great gods, who ordain the destiny of the land, and have made great my kingdom![1]

Rebuilding of Calah (Col. V)

492. (*Vol. V*) The former city of Calah, which Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who went before me, had built, that city had fallen into decay and lay prostrate, and had been turned into mounds and ruins. That city I built anew, and I dug a canal from the Upper Zab and named it Bâbelat-hegalli.[2] I planted orchards round about it with all kinds of

[1] From here to the beginning of Col. V the text is identical with that of *Annals*, Col. I, ll. 18 f.

[2] Bringer of abundance.

fruit trees and vines. The choicest I offered unto Assur, my lord, and unto (the gods) of the temples of my land. I built the wall anew, from its foundation to its top I constructed, I completed it. A palace for my royal dwelling and for my lordly pleasure I founded therein for all time; I adorned it, I made it glorious, with copper clothes-hooks I surrounded it. Door-leaves I constructed of mighty fir trees, with bands of copper I bound them, and in its door I set them. Chairs of maple and boxwood, tables of ivory with inlay, silver, gold, lead, copper and iron, the spoil of my hand from the lands which I brought under my sway, I took and I placed them therein.

493. Let (some) future prince repair its ruins, my name (and) inscription let him restore to its place. (Then) Assur will hear his prayers. The palace of my might, my royal dwelling in the city of Calah, he shall not cast down, nor shall he abandon it in the face of the foe. The doors, the beams, the hooks which are located therein, he shall not carry away, nor shall he establish (with them) another palace in another city. Its beams he shall not break, its doorposts he shall not tear out, the passage of its *zini*-gate[1] he shall not block up, its door he shall not close. For his treasure-house he shall not take it, nor shall he give it over to be a prison. Men and women, who are captives, therein shall he not confine (either) by order, or permit, or by non-interference. He shall not destroy it, nor shall he enter another palace, whether inside the city or outside, which is like my palace. The bolt he shall not shatter, nor sprawl in its midst. No evil plot shall he contrive, nor cause violence to be done to my ordained might or my royal dwelling.

494. Whosoever shall act according to the word of this my memorial stele, shall not alter the words of my inscription, may Assur and Enlil (Bêl), the great gods who have

[1] Cf. *KAH*, II, No. 11 (§ 33); postern gate?

made my kingdom great, make his dominion great in every land. In power, might and majesty may they lead him, may they grant the land of the four quarters (of the world) as his portion; fulness, plenty, and abundance may they establish in his land.

495. But whosoever shall not act according to the word of this my memorial stele, and shall alter the words of my inscription or shall destroy this image, or shall remove it, or shall smear it with grease, or shall bury it in the ground, or shall burn it in the fire, or shall cast it into the water, or shall place it so that beasts may tread upon it or cattle pass over it, or shall prevent people from beholding and reading the words of my inscription, or shall do violence unto my memorial stele, so that none may behold it nor read it, or, because of these curses, shall send a hostile foe, or an evil enemy, or a prisoner, or any living human creature, and shall cause him to take it, and he shall deface it, or scrape it, or shall change its meaning to something else, or shall set his mind, take counsel with his heart, to destroy this my image, and to alter the words (of the inscription)—whether he be a scribe, or a soothsayer, or any other man—and he shall say unto him, "Destroy that image! According to the words thereof it shall not be done!" and he shall hearken unto his words, or whosoever shall devise an evil plot and against (the record of) my deeds and my image shall direct it, and shall say, "I know (him) not! Surely they ended his activity (*lit.*, set his face to rest) in the kingship, destroyed his image and broke it to pieces, and altered the words of his mouth!", or (whosoever) against this my image shall contrive evil, may Assur, the great lord, the Assyrian god, the lord of destinies, curse his destiny, destroy his works and may he utter an evil curse that the foundation of his kingdom may be uprooted, and that his people may be destroyed, and may he cast distress, want, and hunger, and famine upon his land! Whosoever

is angry with this my image, and utters . . . . . , may Anu, Enlil (Bêl), and Ea, the gods whom I obey, utter a curse that he prosper not, through their mighty word! And a merciless [weapon(?)] that shall be unfavorable . . . . . and defeat and imprisonment(?) may they establish in his land!

IV. THE KURKH MONOLITH

496. The monolith from Kurkh (some twenty miles south of Diarbekr), now in the British Museum (No. 125), was set up to commemorate the victories of the fifth year of Assur-nâsir-pal's reign (text, IIIR, Plate 6; *AKA*, pp. 222 f.; Le Gac, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 f.).

497. O Assur, Adad, Sin and Shamash, Ishtar, ye great gods, who go before my hosts, (I) Assur-nâsir-pal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, trusting in Assur and Shamash, the great gods, my lords, have gone hither and yon and have been without a rival among the princes of the four quarters (of the world). The exalted chief, who humbles all princes, who fears not the battle; powerful despot, ⌜who shatters the host⌝ of the proud; mighty ⌜hero,⌝[1] who tramples on the neck of princes not submissive to him; the mighty flood, whose onset cannot be opposed; the mighty . . . . . who . . . . the king of kings, [lord of lords⌝; . . . . . of war [and] battle, who casts down the princes not submissive to him, who has brought under his sway the totality of all peoples; the mighty king, who destroys the wall of his enemies, who shatters the weapons of princes in all the quarters (of the world); the wonderful shepherd, ruler of all peoples; the king of all the four quarters (of the world); the Sun of all peoples; son of Tukulti-Urta, who ⌜slaughtered⌝ those that disobeyed him, and cut the throats of warriors; grandson of Adad-nirâri, who . . . . . and founded cities.

498. When the lord Assur, who called me by my name and

[1] *Lit.*, torch.

has made great my kingdom, made a revelation unto me and commanded that I should march a second time against the Nairî, on the first day of the month *Simânu*, in the eponymy of Sha-ilima-damka, I mustered my chariots and my armies, I crossed the Tigris. In the region of my path . . . . . in the land of Kadish-haru(?) . . . . . Into the city of Abki I entered, from the city of Abki I departed. Five lions before the city of Malhina(?) in the land of Hatte I brought low with my terrible bow. Into the land of Kutmuhi I entered, a palace in the city of Tiluli I consecrated, I received the tribute of the land of Kutmuhi in the city of Tiluli. From the land of Kutmuhi I departed, and I entered the passes of the Ishtarâti (the goddesses). In the city of Kibaki I spent the night, and I received cattle, sheep, wine, vessels [of copper], as the tribute of the city of Kibaki. From the city of Kibaki I departed, unto the city of Matiate I drew near. The city of Matiate together with the villages thereof I captured. 2,800 of their fighting men I brought low with the sword; their great spoil I carried off. All the men who had fled from before my weapons embraced my feet, in their cities I caused them to dwell, (*Rev.*) tribute, taxes, and overseers I imposed more stringently upon them. I made an image of my own likeness, the power of my might I inscribed thereon, in the city of Matiate I set it up. The city of Bunnu—, the fortress of Masula (and) two cities of its neighborhood, I captured. Three hundred of their fighting men I cut down with the sword, their spoil I carried off, and their cities I burned with fire. From the city of Matiate I departed, in the city of Zazabuha I spent the night, I received the tribute of the land of Kirhi,—cattle, sheep, wine, vessels of copper, bowls and beakers of copper. From the city of Zazabuha I departed, and I spent the night in the city of Irsia. The city of Irsia I burned with fire. The tribute of the city of Shûra,—cattle, sheep, wine, and vessels I received in the city

of Irsia. From the city of Irsia I departed, in the mountain of Kashiaru I spent the night. The city of Madaranzu and two cities of its neighborhood I captured, I slew the inhabitants thereof, ... I carried off, I burned the cities with fire. For six days in the midst of the mighty mountain of Kashiaru, a difficult region, not suited for the passage of chariots and troops, with hatchets of iron I cut and with axes of copper I hewed a way through, I brought over the chariots and troops. In the cities which were alongside my trail through the midst of the mountain of Kashiaru I received cattle, sheep, and wine.

499. The mountain of Kashiaru I crossed, and for the second time I went down into the land of Nairî. In the city of Shigishu I spent the night. From the city of ⌜Shigishu⌝ I departed, I drew near to the city of Madara, the stronghold of Lapturi, the son of Tubusi. The city was exceeding strong, surrounded by four walls. I stormed the city. They took fright at my mighty arms, and their property, their possessions, and their sons I received from them as ⌜gifts⌝, and I pardoned them and spared their lives. Tribute, taxes, and overseers I imposed upon them. The city I destroyed, I laid waste, I turned it into mounds and ruins. From the city of Madara I departed, into the city of Tushha I entered. The palace in the city of Tushha I consecrated, and the tribute of the land of Nirdun,—horses, mules, vessels, beakers, cattle, sheep, and wine,—I received in the city of Tushha. [Sixty] strong, walled cities, at the foot of Mount Kashiaru, belonging to Lapturi, the son of Tubusi, I destroyed, I laid waste, I turned into mounds and ruins. With the help of Assur, my lord, from the city of Tushha I departed. The chariots and —— cavalry I took with me, and on rafts I crossed the Tigris. All night I marched, I drew nigh unto Pitura, the stronghold of the men of the city of Dirra. The city was exceeding strong, was surrounded by two walls, its

citadel was built like a mountain peak. (Trusting in) the supreme might of Assur, my lord, with the masses of my hosts and with my furious onslaught I battled [with them]. For two days, from before sunrise, I thundered against them like Adad, (the god) of the storm, and I rained down flame upon them. [With courage] and might my warriors flew against them like Zû.[1] I captured the city, 800 of their warriors I struck down with the sword, ⌜I cut off⌝ their heads. Many ⌜of the men⌝ I captured alive, the rest of them I burned with fire, their heavy spoil I carried off. A pillar of living (men and) of heads I built in front of their city gate, [700] men I impaled on stakes in front of their city gate. The city I destroyed, I devastated, I turned it into mounds and ruins; their young men I burned in the flames. The city of Kûkunu, which is situated at the entrance (*lit.*, mouth) of the pass of the mountain of Matnu, I captured, 700 of their warriors I struck down with the sword, their great spoil I carried off.

500. Forty cities of the land of Dirra I captured, and I slew their inhabitants, I carried off their spoil; forty men I captured alive, the cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The (terrifying) splendor of my dominion I poured over them. From the city of Pidara I departed, to the city of Arbaki, of the land of Kirhi, which is on the inside, I went down. At my royal splendor they were affrighted, and their strong, walled cities they cast down; to save their lives, into the mighty mountain of ⌜Matna⌝ they went up. I marched after them, 1,000 of their fighting men I slaughtered in the midst of the steep mountain, with their blood I dyed the mountain, with their corpses I filled the gullies and precipices of the mountain. 200 men I captured alive, I cut off their arms, and 2,000 of them as captives I carried away; their cattle and sheep in countless numbers I carried off. Iiaia and

[1] The mythological storm-bird.

Salanibe, the strong cities of the land of Arbakki, I captured, I slew their inhabitants and I carried off their spoil.

501. 250 strong, walled cities of the lands of Nairî I destroyed, I laid waste, into mounds and ruins I turned them. The harvest of their land I gathered, grain and straw I heaped up in the city of Tushha. Against Amma-ba'li, the son of Zamâni, his (*text has*, their) nobles revolted and they slew him; to avenge Ammi-pa'li I set out. Before the fury of my arms and the terror of my dominion they were affrighted; and forty chariots equipped with the trappings of men and horses, 460 horses broken to the yoke, two talents of silver, two talents of gold, 100 talents of lead, 200 talents of copper, 300 talents of copper,[1] 300 talents of iron, 1,000 vessels of copper, 2,000 pans of copper, bowls and caldrons of copper, 1,000 brightly colored garments (of wool) and linen garments, tables of *SHA*-wood, couches made of ivory and overlaid with gold, the treasures of his palace, 2,000 head of cattle, 5,000 sheep, his sister with her rich dowry, the daughters of his nobles with their rich dowries I received. Bur-ramânu, the rebel (*lit.*, sinner), I flayed, I spread his skin upon the wall of the city of Sinabu; Ilânu, his brother, I appointed to the rulership; two minas of gold, 13 minas of silver, 1,000 sheep, 2,000 (*gur*) of ——— grain(?) . . . . . as . . . . . tribute I imposed upon him. Sinabu and Tîdu, fortresses which Shalmaneser, king of Assyria a prince who went before me, had seized (as an outpost) against the land of Nairî, but which (the men of) the land of Arumu (Arameans) had taken by force, I recovered for myself; the Assyrians who had held the fortresses of Assyria in the land of Nairî, whom (the men of) the land of Arumu had trampled under foot, I resettled in their cities and houses which lay desolate, I caused them to dwell in peaceful habitations.

[1] Scribal error. The *Annals* read: "100 talents of . . . . ."

502. 15,000 Ahlamê Arameans, ruled by (*lit.*, of) Ammiba'li, son of Zamâni, I snatched away and brought to Assyria. The harvest of the land of Nairî I gathered, in the cities of Tushha, Damdamusi, Sinabu, and Tîdi I heaped it up for the forces of my land. The cities of the lands of Nirdun and Luluta, the city of Dirra, and (the cities of) the lands of Aggunu, Ulliba, Arbaki, and Nirbe I captured, I slew the inhabitants thereof, I carried off their spoil. Their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I turned into mounds and ruins; feudal dues, forced labor, and overseers I imposed upon the land of Nairî. My own governor I set over them; the performance of service, the fury of my arms, the terror of my dominion I poured out over the land of Nairî. The tribute of the land of Shuprê,—silver, gold, copper, lead, iron, beakers, vessels, cattle, sheep, horses, I received in the city of Damdamusa. On my return march from the land of Nairî I captured the city of Shûra which is in the land of Hanigalbat. 900 of their fighting men I struck down with the sword, 2,000 prisoners I carried away, the city of Shûra I took for my own possession.

V. STATUE INSCRIPTION

503. On the breast of a limestone statue of Assur-nâsir-pal (Nimrûd Gallery, British Museum, No. 89), which came from the temple of Urta in Calah, stands this short inscription (text, IIIR, Plate 4, No. 8; *AKA*, pp. 161 f.; Le Gac, *op. cit.*, p. 201):

504. Assur-nâsir-pal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Tukulti-Urta, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; who has conquered from beyond the Tigris as far as Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea, and has brought into subjection at his feet all the countries from the rising to the setting sun.

VI. INSCRIPTION FROM THE PALACE AT CALAH

505. The text on limestone tablets commemorating the building of the royal palace at Calah, now in the British Museum, is published in *AKA*, pp. 173 f.

506. Palace of Assur-nâsir-pal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Tukulti-Urta, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; the valiant hero, who goes hither and yon, trusting in Assur, his lord, and is without a rival among the princes of the four quarters (of the world); the king, who from beyond the Tigris and as far as Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea, has brought in submission at his feet the land of Lakê, in its entirety, and the land of Suhi, as far as the land of Rapiku; whose hand has conquered from the source of the river Subnat to the passes that lead to it. From the pass of Kirruri to the land of Gilzani, and from beyond (*Rev.*) the Lower Zab to the city of Til-bâri, which is above the land of Zaban, and from the city of Til-sha-Abtani to the city of Til-sha-Zabdani, the cities of Hirimu and Harutu, fortresses of the land of Karduniash (Babylonia), I have added unto the border of my land, and the broad lands of Nairî, to their farthest boundary, I have brought under my sway. The city of Calah I have settled anew. I removed the ancient mound (tell) and dug down to the water level, I went down 120 *tipku*, and laid the foundations of my royal palace therein.

VII. INSCRIPTION FROM THE WALL OF CALAH

507. The inscription on a limestone tablet (and duplicates) from Calah, now in the British Museum, follows (text, *AKA*, pp. 177 f.):

Assur-nâsir-pal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Tukulti-Urta, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria;

(grand)son of Adad-nirâri, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; the valiant hero who goes hither and yon trusting in Assur, his lord, and is without a rival among the princes of the four quarters (of the world); the wonderful shepherd who fears not the battle; the mighty flood who is without a conqueror; the king who has brought to subjection those who were not submissive to him, and has brought under his sway all[1] the nations; the mighty hero, who tramples on the neck of his foes, and treads down all enemies; who shatters the power of the strong; who goes hither and yon trusting in the great gods, his lords, whose hand has conquered all lands; who has brought under his sway all mountain regions and has received their tribute, taking hostages and establishing (his) might over all countries!

508. When Assur, the lord who called me by name and who has made great my kingdom, placed in my lordly hand his unsparing weapon, I cut down with the sword the widespreading armies of the Lulumê, in the midst of battle. With the help of Shamash and Adad, the gods, my helpers, I roared like Adad, the destroyer, over the armies of the Nairî-lands, of Kirhi, of the Shubarê, and of Nirbe (the passes). (I am) the king who has brought in submission to his feet from beyond the Tigris as far as the city of Carchemish which is in the land of Hatte, the land of Lakê, in its entirety, and the land of Suhi, as far as the city of Rapiku, whose hand has conquered from the source of the river Subnat to the passes which lead to it. From the passes of Kirruri to the land of Gilzani, and from beyond the Lower Zab to the city of Til-bâri, which is above the land of Zaban, as far as the cities of Til-sha-Zabdani and Til-sha-Abtani, the cities of Hirimu and Harutu, fortresses of the land of Karduniash (Babylonia), I have added unto the border of my land, and from the pass of

[1] *Lit.*, the totality of all.

Babite to the land of Hashmar I have reckoned (the inhabitants) as people of my land. In the lands which I have brought under my sway, I have appointed my governors; vassalage, service, and forced labor I have laid upon them.

509. Assur-nâsir-pal, the exalted prince who fears the great gods, the powerful lord, conqueror of cities and mountains to their farthest border; the king of lords, who consumes the wicked, the supreme, the unsparing, the destroyer of opposition, the king of all princes, the king of kings, the exalted priest, the chosen of Urta, the hero, the mighty one among the great gods, the king who has walked righteously, trusting in Assur and Urta, the gods, his helpers, and has brought in submission at his feet proud mountain (regions) and (their) princes, who were his enemies,—all of their lands; who has fought with the enemies of Assur, north and south, and has laid tribute and tax upon them!

510. Assur-nâsir-pal, the mighty king, the chosen of Sin, the favorite of Anu, the beloved of Adad, (*Rev.*) the mighty one among the gods, the merciless weapon which overthrows the land of his enemies, am I; the king who is mighty in battle, the destroyer of cities and mountains, first in war, the king of the four quarters (of the world), the conqueror of his foes, mighty countries, and fierce mountain(eers), who have brought in submission at my feet valiant and merciless kings from the rising to the setting sun, bringing them under one rule.

511. The former city of Calah, which Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, the prince who went before me, had built,—that city had fallen into decay and lay prostrate, and was turned into mounds and ruins. That city I built anew, and the peoples whom my hand had conquered, from the lands which I had brought under my sway, from the land of Suhi, and from the whole of the land of Lakê, and from the land of Sirku on the other side of the Euphrates, and from the

farthest border of the land of Zamua, from Bît-Adini and the land of Hatte, (the people of) Liburna, (ruler) of the land of Hattini, I took and I settled them therein.

512. I dug a canal from the Upper Zab, and I named it Pati-hegalli, and I laid out plantations round about it, and all kinds of fruit and wine I offered unto Assur, my lord, and (unto the deities of the other) temples of my land. The ancient mound I removed, and dug down to the water-level, I went down 120 *tipku*. The wall thereof I built anew; from its foundation unto its coping I built and completed it. A palace of cedar, cypress, juniper, boxwood, and mulberry, and a palace of pistachio-wood, and of tamarisk, for my royal dwelling and for my lordly pleasure, I founded therein; beasts of the mountains and of the seas, in white limestone and alabaster, I set up in its gate; I adorned it, I made it glorious, and put copper clothes-hooks all around it. Door-leaves of cedar, cypress, juniper, and mulberry I hung in its gate. Chairs of maple and boxwood, and tables of ivory with inlay, silver, gold, lead, copper and iron, the spoil of my hand from the lands which I brought under my sway, in great quantities I took and I placed therein. My memorial stele I inscribed, and I set it in the wall thereof.

513. Let (some) future prince repair its ruins, let him restore my name and inscription to its place. (Then) Assur, the great lord, and Ishtar, the lady of battle and combat, will hear his prayers. But whosoever destroys my name, may Assur and Urta look upon him in wrath, overthrow his kingdom, take his throne from him, set him bound before his enemies and blot out his name and his seed from the land!

VIII. INSCRIPTION ON COLOSSI FROM CALAH

514. An inscription on colossal bulls and lions from Calah has an account of an expedition to the Mediterranean (also in the British Museum) (text, *AKA*, pp. 189 f.; Le Gac, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 f.).

515. (*Col. I*) Palace of Assur-nâsir-pal, priest of Assur, favorite of Enlil (Bêl) and of Urta, the beloved of Anu and of Dagan, the strong one among the great gods, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Tukulti-Urta, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, (the great king, the mighty king),[1] the king of the universe, king of Assyria; the valiant hero who goes hither and yon trusting in Assur, his lord, and is without a rival among the princes of the four quarters (of the world); the wonderful shepherd who fears not the battle; the mighty flood who is without a conqueror; the king who has brought to subjection those who were not submissive to him, and has brought under his sway all[2] the nations; the mighty hero, who tramples on the neck of his foes, and treads down all enemies, who shatters (*Col. II*) the power of the strong; the king, who goes hither and yon trusting in the great gods, his lords, whose hand has conquered all lands, who has brought under his sway all mountain regions and has received their tribute, taking hostages and establishing his might over all countries!

516. When Assur, the lord, who called me by name and has made great my kingdom, intrusted his merciless weapon unto my lordly power, I cast down in battle the widespreading troops of the Lulumê. With the help of Shamash and Adad, the gods, my helpers, I thundered over the troops of the Nairî-lands, Kirhi, Shubarê, and Nirib, like Adad, the destroyer. (I am) the king, who from beyond the Tigris unto Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea, has brought in submission at his feet Lakê, to its farthest border, Suhi, as far as the city of Rapiku, whose hand has conquered from the source of the river Subnat to the land of Urartu (Armenia). From the pass of Kirruri to the land of Gilzani, from beyond

[1] So variants.

[2] *Lit.*, the totality of all.

the Lower Zab to the city of Til-bâri, which is above the land of Zaban, together with the cities of Til-sha-Zabdani and Til-sha-Abtani, Hirimu and Harutu, the fortresses of the land of Karduniash(Babylonia), I have added to the border of my land, (*Col. III*) and (the inhabitants) from the passes of Babite to the land of Hashmar I have reckoned as people of my land. In the lands which I have brought under my sway, I have appointed my governors, vassalage and forced labor (I have laid upon them).

517. Assur-nâsir-pal, the exalted prince, who fears the great gods, the powerful lord, conqueror of cities and mountain regions, to the farthest border, the king of lords, who consumes the wicked, who is crowned with splendor, who is fearless in battle, the mighty, the unsparing, the destroyer of opposition, the king of glory, the shepherd (and) protector of the (four) quarters (of the world), the king, who by the word of his mouth destroys mountains and seas, who by his lordly attack has forced valiant and merciless kings, from the rising to the setting sun, to acknowledge one supremacy. I have crossed mighty mountains, I have spied out difficult paths into (every) quarter of all of them, I have poured down (*lit.*, rained) a flame of spears (*Col. IV*) upon the princes of all cities;—at the word of my mouth they were terrified and besought my lordly power.

518. I am Assur-nâsir-pal, the wise, the knowing, the intelligent, quick of understanding (through) the wisdom which Ea, king of the Deep, has apportioned unto me. The great gods of heaven and earth in their steadfast hearts made a decree and my sovereignty, my dominion, and my power went forth at their holy word; to conquer, to subdue, and to rule mighty mountains and highlands they commanded me in their wrath. At the command of Assur, the great lord, my lord, and Urta, who loves my priesthood, I marched to Mount Lebanon, to the Great Sea I went up. In the Great Sea I

washed my weapons, and I made offerings unto my gods. At that time I received the tribute of the kings of the seacoast, of the Tyreans, the Sidonians, the Amorites, the Gebalites, the Mahalateans, the Kaisites, the Maisites, and of the city of Arvad, which is in the midst of the sea,—silver, gold, lead, copper, vessels of copper, garments of brightly colored wool, linen garments, ivory, and a *nahiru*, a creature of the sea.[1] I received at that time from them great and small *pagâte*, together with their tribute. Unto my land of Assyria I brought them, and in the city of Calah I bred great herds of them, letting all the people of my land behold them.

519. By my outstretched arm (*lit.*, hand) and impetuous courage, fifteen mighty lions from the mountains and the forests I seized with my hand, and fifty lion-cubs I carried away, and, in the city of Calah and the palaces of my land, put them in cages, and I caused them to bring forth their cubs in abundance. *urmindinash* I captured alive with my hands, (and) herds of wild oxen, elephants and lions, and *MAL-SHIR*-birds, male and female *pagâte*, wild asses, gazelles, stags, *asâte* (wolves?), panthers, and *senkurri*, all the beasts of plain and mountain, I collected in my city of Calah, letting all the people of my land behold them.

520. O future prince among the kings, my sons, whom Assur shall call by name, or future peoples, or servants of the king, or noble, or high official: thou shalt not abuse these creatures before Assur. Urta and Nergal, who love my priesthood, intrusted to me the wild creatures of the field, commanding me to follow the chase. Thirty elephants from ambush I slew, and 257 mighty wild oxen in my hunting(?)-chariots [and by my lordly attack I brought down with (my) weapons, and 370 mighty lions, like caged birds, I slew with the javelin].

[1] The *nahiru* is called a "sea-horse" (cf. § 298).

IX. ADDRESS TO ISHTAR ON LION FROM CALAH

521. An inscription on a colossal lion from Calah, now in the British Museum, is an address to Ishtar (text, IIR, Plate 66 and *AKA*, pp. 206 f.).

522. To the Lady of the land, the great lady, first in heaven and on earth, the powerful queen of all the gods, whose word is honored (weighty) . . . . . , whose form is surpassing among the goddesses, the bright being, who like Shamash, her full brother, surveys the ends of heaven (and earth) alike, the powerful one (among) the Anunnaki, the first-born daughter of Anu, the exceedingly great one of the gods, who rules her enemies, going ahead, stirring up the seas and troubling the hills; the strong one of the Igigi, the lady of battle and combat, without whom the scepter(?) in E-sharra is unfavorable, who allows victory to be attained, who causes the heart to attain its desire, lover of righteousness, who hearkens unto my prayer, who accepts supplication, who receives petitions;—unto Ishtar, the bright, the perfect, the mighty one, who surveys heaven and earth, whose name is named in all the regions of the world, the bestower of life, the merciful goddess, whose compassion(?) is gracious, who dwells in the city of Calah, my lady, (I) Assur-nâsir-pal, (do pray): the king of hosts, the king without a rival, the king of all the four regions of the world, the Sun of all peoples, the favorite of Enlil (Bêl) and Urta, the beloved of Anu and Dagan, the mighty one of the great gods, the humble one, who is dear to thy heart, the prince who is thy favorite, whose priesthood is pleasing unto thy great divinity and whose (kingdom) thou hast firmly established!

523. Here follow portions of the Standard Inscription (§§ 486 ff.) engraved on the body and legs of the lion, and beneath it, after the record of the rebuilding of Calah, is an enumeration of the temples built in that city by the king.

524. The temple of Enlil (Bêl) and Urta, the temple of Ea and Damkina, the temple of Adad and Shala, the temple

of Sin, the temple of Gula, the temple of *Bêlit-mâti* ("Lady of the Land"),—the temples of the great gods, I founded therein.

X. REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE OF URTA AT CALAH

525. The following text records the rebuilding of the temple of Urta at Calah (text, *AKA*, pp. 209 f.):

Assur-nâsir-pal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Tukulti-Urta, the great king, etc.[1] The ancient mound I destroyed, I dug down to the water level, and 120 *tipki* I went down into the depths. The temple of Urta, my lord, I founded therein. When I had fashioned that image of Urta, (the like of) which had not existed in former times, according to the planning of my own heart, as the protecting image of his great divinity, from the choicest mountain stone (and) shining gold, I accounted it as my great god of the city of Calah and established his feasts in the months *Shabâtu* and *Ululu*. I built that temple of brickwork, and placed the shrine of Urta, my lord, therein. When the lord Urta in his holy shrine, in his dwelling, the . . . . . of his heart's desire, takes up his habitation forever, ... , may he rejoice, may he command that my days may be long, and order that my years may be many, and may he love my [life?], in battle and combat, in the place where I would be, may he cause me to attain the desire of my [heart]!

XI. RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE OF ISHTAR, QUEEN OF KIDMURI

526. Among the many temples at Calah, rebuilt after the restoration of that city, was that of Ishtar, queen of Kidmuri. This event was commemorated by a tablet inscription (text, *AKA*, pp. 162 f.) and a dedication on a glazed ornament (published by Le Gac, *op. cit.*, p. 203).

527. 1. Assur-nâsir-pal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Tukulti-Urta, the

[1] Ll. 2-15 are the same as the introduction of the Standard Inscription, §§486 88.

great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; the valiant hero, who goes hither and yon, trusting in Assur, his lord, and is without a rival among the princes of the four quarters (of the world); the king, who from beyond the Tigris (and) as far as Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea, has brought in subjection at his feet the land of Lakê, in its entirety, the land of Suhi, as far as the city of Rapiku, whose hand has conquered from the source of the river Subnat to the passes which lead to it. From the pass of Kirruri to the land of Gilzani, and from beyond the Lower Zab to the city of Til-bâri, which is above the city of Zaban, and from the city of Til-sha-Abtani to the city of Til-sha-Zabdani, the cities of Hirimu and Harutu, fortresses of the land of Karduniash (Babylonia), I have added unto the border of my land, the broad lands of Nairî to their farthest border I have brought under my sway. The city of Calah I have restored (as my capital).

528. When the temple of Ishtar, the queen of Kidmuri, which had existed in former days under the kings, my fathers, had been destroyed and had been turned into mounds and ruins, in the wisdom of my heart, with which Ea, king of the Deep, the wise and understanding (god), had endowed me, I built that temple of Kidmuri anew for her. The protecting image of Ishtar, queen of Kidmuri, (*Rev.*) I fashioned out of fine gold and caused her to dwell in her shrine. Her offerings and her cult I established for her.

529. O thou future prince among the kings, my sons, whom Assur shall call by name, (when) thou shalt behold (this) vision, restore the imperfections thereof, into a place (unsheltered from) the sun thou shalt not cause her to enter. Thou shalt not blot out my name which is inscribed (hereon) but thou shalt inscribe thy own name by the side of my name,

and shalt restore it unto its place and thou shalt repair the ruins of this temple. (Then) Assur, the great lord, Shamash, judge of heaven and earth, and Ishtar, queen of Kidmuri, will hear his prayers and will surely lengthen his days! In the war of kings, upon the field of battle, may they cause him to attain to the desire of (*lit.*, all that is in) his heart! Plenty and luxurious abundance may he behold in his land! Whosoever blots out my name (and) inscription, and writes his own name (in its place), or carries off this memorial stele and sets it in another place, or casts it into the water, or burns it with fire, or covers it with earth, or places it in a dungeon,—may Assur, the great lord, and Adad, ruler of heaven and earth, and Irra (Girra), the lord of storm and of destruction, overthrow his kingdom, take his throne from him; may they set him in fetters before his foe; want, hunger, and famine may they establish in his land, and may they blot out his name (and) his seed from the land.

530. 2. (Le Gac, *op. cit.*, p. 203) Palace of [Assur]-nâsir-pal, [king of] Assyria, son of Tukulti-Urta, king of Assyria.

From the temple of Kidmuri of Calah.

XII. MISCELLANEOUS BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS FROM CALAH

531. 1. A large number of inscribed bricks from Calah (and from Assur) have found their way into different museums. The text is a record of the king's titles and genealogy (see *AKA*, pp. 155 f.; *KAH*, II, Nos. 93 and 95; Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, No. 9).

Palace of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

532. 2. In more detail are given the titles and genealogy of the king in inscriptions found on clay bowls (text, *AKA*, pp. 157 f.).

Assur-nâsir-pal, viceroy of Enlil (Bêl), the priest of Assur, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the universe,

king of Assyria; son of Tukulti-Urta, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Adad-nirâri, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the universe, king of Assyria.

533. 3. The inscription on a clay fist, now in the Berlin Museum, is published by Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, p. 23 (cf. Le Gac, *op. cit.*, p. 203*C*).

Palace of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Urta, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria. Property of the temple of Urta.

534. 4. From the Ziggurat (temple tower) at Calah came the short inscription, published by Le Gac, *op. cit.*, p. 202*B*.

Palace(?) of Assur-nâsir-pal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria. Son of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of Assyria. (From) the structure of the ziggurat of Calah.

XIII. BALÂWÂT (IMGUR-BÊL) INSCRIPTIONS

535. From Tell-Balâwât (ancient Imgur-Bêl) came the altar (Nimrûd Gallery, No. 71) and the coffer containing two limestone slabs, also in the British Museum. The text from the first is published in *AKA*, p. 160; of the latter, in *ibid.*, pp. 167 f.

536. 1. Unto Enlil (Bêl), king of heaven . . . . . the bounds (of heaven and earth), who troubles the hills, who dwells in the temple of Kidmuri, the great lord, my lord, I, Assur-nâsir-pal, priest of Assur, son of Tukulti-Urta, priest of Assur, for my life, length of days, many years, the welfare of my seed and land, have presented (this altar).

537. 2. (*Obv.*) Assur-nâsir-pal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Tukulti-Urta, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; the valiant hero, who, trusting in Assur, his lord, goes hither and yon, and is without a rival among the princes of the four

quarters (of the world); the king, who from beyond the Tigris (and) as far as Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea, has brought in submission at his feet the land of Lakê, in its entirety, the land of Suhi, as far as the city of Rapiku. From the source of the river Subriat to the passes of Kirruri, together with the land of Gilzani, from beyond the Lower Zab as far as the city of Til-bâri, which is above the land of Zaban, from the city of Til-sha-Abtani to the city of Til-sha-Zabdani, the cities of Hirimu and Harutu, fortresses of the land, of Karduniash and the broad lands of Nairî, to their farthest boundary, I have brought under my sway.

538. This city I have settled anew, and have called its name Imgur-Bêl. This temple I founded on the ruins of my palace,[1] and an image of Mahir, my lord, I have set up therein. I marched unto Mount Lebanon and cut down beams of cedar, cypress and juniper, with the beams of cedar I roofed this temple, door-leaves of cedar I fashioned, and with a sheathing (bands) of copper I bound them, and I hung them in its gates. This temple I adorned and I made glorious, and I caused the great lord Mahir to dwell therein. I inscribed a memorial stele and in his temple I set it up.

539. O future prince among the kings, my sons, whom Assur shall call by name, when this temple falls to ruins, and thou shalt see the memorial stele and shalt read it, restore its ruins, write thy name beside my name and restore it unto its place. (Then) may Assur, the lord, the prince, and Mahir, who dwells in this temple, cast their gracious glance upon him, surely his name and his seed may they establish in their land! Whosoever shall see (this) memorial stele, and shall say "What is this?", may Ishtar, the lady of battle and combat, shatter his weapons, and take his throne from him! But whosoever shall see this memorial stele, and shall read it, shall anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices, and restore it to its

[1] *Or, with King,* with bricks from my palace.

place, Assur, the great lord, will hear his prayers, and in the war of kings, upon the field (*Edge*) of battle, will cause him to attain to the desire of (*lit.*, all that is in) his heart.

540. In the entrance to a palace or temple (at Imgur-Bêl, Balâwât?) of Assur-nâsir-pal stood gates covered with bands of bronze on which were depicted scenes from the king's campaigns and hunting expeditions. These bronzes are not nearly so well preserved as the famous Balâwât Gates of Assur-nâsir-pal's son. Only two bands have been published, as an Appendix to King's *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, pp. 35 f., and Plates LXXVIII–LXXX.

541. On Band I, behind the king and above his chariot and bodyguard, stands the text:

Palace of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Urta, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria.

542. Above the officials who are introducing captives into the presence of the king are the words:

Captives from the city of Elipi, of . . . . . .

543. Band II depicted Assur-nâsir-pal at the capture of a city of Bît-Iahiri.

The city of . . . . . -su, a city of Bît-Iahiri, I captured.

XIV. BUILDING TEXTS FROM NINEVEH

544. On some bowl fragments and on a brick we have the record of the rebuilding of Ishtar's temple at Nineveh (*AKA*, pp. 158 f. and 156 f.; Le Gac, *op. cit.*, p. 200).

545. 1. Assur-nâsir-pal, viceroy of Enlil, the priest of Assur, the son of Tukulti-(Urta, viceroy of Enlil, priest of Assur; son) of Adad-nirâri, the viceroy of Enlil, priest of Assur. When Emashmash, the temple of Ishtar of Nineveh, my lady, [which Shamshi]-Adad, the priest of Assur, the prince who lived (*lit.*, went) before me, had built, had fallen into decay, I rebuilt it, from its foundation to its roof, I adorned it, made it glorious, I ⌜made it greater⌝ than it was

before. A memorial stele I inscribed and [set it up therein]. Let (some) [future prince] repair its ruins, and my name which is inscribed (thereon) [let him restore] to its place!

546. 2. Palace of Assur-nâsir-pal, [king of the universe, king of Assyria], son of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of [Assyria], son of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, king of [Assyria], who has built and [has completed] the temple of Ishtar of [Nineveh].

547. 3. A clay fist in the British Museum contains a dedicatory inscription to Ishtar of Nineveh (*Catalogue Kouyunjik Collection, Supplement*, p. 75).

Assur-nâsir-pal, viceroy of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Tukulti-Urta, viceroy of Enlil, priest of Assur, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, viceroy of Enlil, priest of Assur.

Property of the temple of Ishtar of Nineveh.

548. 4. At Nineveh also stood a statue of the king inscribed with the customary high-sounding phrases (K 2763; Le Gac, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 f.).

Assur, the great lord, king of all the great gods, ... lord of lands; Bêl (Enlil), the supreme father of the gods, Ea, king of the Deep, lord of wisdom, the wise; Adad, the surpassingly great, the . . . . . lord . . . . . Shamash, judge of heaven and earth, director of all . . . the great gods who decree destiny (*lit.*, destinies), who make great my kingdom.

549. Assur-nâsir-pal, the exalted prince, who fears the great gods . . . . . .

Conqueror of cities and mountain regions, all of them . . . . . who consumes the proud . . . . . unsparing warrior, destroyer of opposition, lord of lords, shepherd of kings . . . . . exalted . . . . . who at the word of Assur and Urta . . . . . the peoples, the subjects of Enlil has . . . . . a lofty tiara . . . . . .

Assur-nâsir-pal, the mighty king . . . . . the brave hero, who at . . . . . .

From the king's statue which was at the side of the moat of the city.

XV. INSCRIPTIONS FROM ASSUR

550. At Assur the German excavators found two inscriptions of Assur-nâsir-pal on stone. The first (*KAH*, I, No. 25) consists merely of the titles and genealogy of the king, followed by a summary of his conquests; the second (*KAH*, II, No. 94) records the restoration of the temple of Sin and Shamash at Assur.

551. 1. Palace of Assur-nâsir-pal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)-son of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, king of Assyria; conqueror of the lands of the Nairî in their entirety; from the pass(es) of Kirruri to Gilzâni, from the source of the Subnat to the land of Shuprê, my hand conquered. From beyond the Tigris as far as Hatti,—Lakê, in its entirety, Suhu as far as Rapiku, from the pass(es) of Babite as far as Hashmar, Zamua in its entirety, from the other side of the Lower Zab as far as Til-abari, which is above Zaban, (and) as far as Til-Sha-Abatâni; from Til-Sha-Abatâni to Til-Sha-Zabdâni, the cities of Hirimu, Harutu, fortresses of Karduniash, to the border of my land I restored. In the lands and mountains which I brought under my sway, I appointed my governors; their tribute I received, service they rendered.

552. 2. . . . . as far as Mount Lebanon . . . . . from the sources of the Subnat as far as [Urartu, ...] the passes on the inside, my hand [conquered. . . . . .] the whole of the land of Lakê, ... of Suhi as far as Rapiku, ⌜I brought in submission at my feet⌝. From the passes of Babite, ... even to Hashmar, Zamua, in its entirety, ... across the Lower Zab . . . . . Til-abari, which is above Zaban. . . . . Til-sha-Abatâni and Til-sha-Zabdâni . . . . . ⌜Hirimu⌝, Harutu, fortresses of . . . . . Babylonia (Kar-

duniash), to the ⌜border of my land I restored⌝ . . . . . mountains . . . . . (*Rev.*) . . . . . to my city Assur, [the temple of Sin] and Shamash, the great gods, my lords, which the kings who went before me had built aforetime, that [temple] had fallen to decay. I ⌜cleared⌝ its site, I reached its ⌜foundation⌝; from its foundation to its top [I rebuilt], I completed it. The dwelling of Sin and Shamash, the great gods, [my lords] anew I placed therein. Sin and Shamash, ... my memorial stele . . . . . .

CHAPTER XII

SHALMANESER III

I. THE "BLACK OBELISK" INSCRIPTION

553. In the inscription on the famous "Black Obelisk" of the British Museum we are in possession of what was in all probability the final edition of the annals of another Assyrian conqueror, namely, Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.). This black alabaster monolith came from the central building at Nimrûd (Calah), and is inscribed on its four sides with the record of the king's military achievements from the year of accession to the thirty-first year. In addition to this inscription there are twenty small reliefs, with annotations, depicting the payment of the tribute of five conquered regions.

554. The text of the obelisk was published in Layard's *Inscriptions*, Plates 87 f., and has been translated many times.[1] The inscription on the fragment of a stone slab found at Kalat Sherkat seems to have been a duplicate of the obelisk inscription. This text, which breaks off at the end of the account of the campaign of the second year, is published in *KAH*, I, No. 77.

Invocation of the gods. Titles and genealogy of the king (ll. 1–21)

555. Assur, the great lord, king of all of the great gods; Anu, king of the Igigi and Anunnaki, the lord of lands; Enlil (Bêl), the exalted, father of the gods, the creator; Ea, king of the Deep (Apsu), who determines destiny; [Sin], king of the tiara, exalted in splendor; [Adad,] mighty, pre-eminent, lord of abundance (plenty); Shamash, ⌜judge⌝ of heaven and earth, director of all (things); ⌜Marduk,⌝ master of the gods, lord of law (omens); Urta, valiant (ruler) of the Igigi and the Anunnaki, the almighty god; Nergal, the ready (perfect), king of battle; Nusku, bearer of the shining scepter, the god

[1] See especially Amiaud and Sheil, *Les Inscriptions de Salmanasar II*.

who renders decisions; Ninlil, spouse of Bêl, mother of the [great] gods; Ishtar, first in heaven and on earth, who fills full the measure of bravery;—the great [gods], who ordain destiny (destinies), who have made great my kingdom, (I invoke).

556. Shalmaneser, king of all peoples, lord, priest of Assur, mighty king, king of all the four regions (of the world), Sun of all peoples, despot of all lands; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, the high priest, whose priesthood was acceptable to the gods and who brought in submission at his feet the totality of the countries (of earth); glorious offspring of Tukulti-Urta, who slew all of his foes and overwhelmed them like a hurricane (deluge).

Year of accession. Against the city of Aridu (ll. 22–26)

557. At the beginning of my reign, when I solemnly took my seat upon the royal throne, I mobilized my chariots and troops, the passes of the land of Simesi I entered; Aridu, the stronghold of Ninni, I captured.

Year 1. To the Mediterranean (ll. 26–31)

558. In my first year of reign I crossed the Euphrates at its flood. To the shore of the sea of the setting sun I advanced. I washed my weapons in the sea; I offered sacrifices to my gods. I climbed Mount Amanus; I cut cedar and cypress timbers. I climbed Mount Lallar, (and) there set up my royal image.

Year 2. Against the cities of Ahuni and the city of Dabigu (ll. 32–35)

559. In my second year of reign I drew nigh to Til-barzip (*written*, barzaib). The cities of Ahuni, son of Adini, I captured. In his city I shut him up. The Euphrates I crossed at its flood; I captured Dabigu, a fortified city of Hatti, together with the cities of its neighborhood.

Year 3. Against Ahuni and back to Assyria by way of Armenia (ll. 35–44)

560. In my third year of reign Ahuni, son of Adini, took fright before my mighty weapons, and forsook Til-barzip, his royal city. I crossed the Euphrates. The city of Ana-Assur-utir-asbat, which lies on the other side of the Euphrates, on the Sagur River, (and) which the Hittite people called Pitru, I seized for myself. On [my] return, I entered the passes of the land of Alzi; the lands of Alzi, ⌜Suhni⌝, Daiaeni, Tumme, Arzashkunu, the royal city of Arame, the Armenian (king), Gilzânu, (and) Hubushkia ⟨I conquered⟩.

Year 4. Defeat and capture of Ahuni. Against the land of Zamua (ll. 45–52)

561. In the eponymy of Daian-Assur I departed from Nineveh, crossed the ⌜Euphrates⌝ at its flood, pursued (*lit.*, went after) Ahuni, son of Adini. He made Shitamrat, a mountain peak, which is on the bank of the Euphrates, his stronghold. The mountain peak I stormed and captured. Ahuni, together with his gods, his chariots, his horses, his sons, his daughters, his troops, I carried off and brought (them) to my city Assur. In that same year I crossed Mount Kullar (and) descended against Zamua, which lies inside. The cities of Nikdiara[1] of the city of Ida (and) Nikdima,[1] I captured.

Year 5. Into the Kashiari hills (ll. 52–54)

562. In my fifth year of reign I went up against Mount Kashiari. Eleven strongholds I captured. Assur-itti-sheruri-ai I shut up in his city. His many gifts I received from him.

Year 6. Against the cities on the Balih, then against Hadad-ezer and his allies (ll. 54–62)

563. In my sixth year of reign I drew near to the cities on the banks of the Balih. Giammu, governor of their cities,

[1] Personal names.

they slew. I entered Til-mâr-ahi. The Euphrates I crossed at its flood. I received gifts from all of the kings of Hatti. At that time Hadad-ezer, [king] of Aram (? Damascus), Irhuleni, the Hamathite, together with the kings of Hatti and the sea-coast, relied on each other's strength and came out against me to offer battle (*lit.*, to make battle and war). At the command of Assur, the great lord, my lord, I fought with them, I accomplished their defeat. Their chariots, their cavalry, their weapons of war, I took from them. 20,500 of their warriors I slew with the sword.

Year 7. Against Til-abnê. To the source of the Tigris (ll. 67–72)

564. In my seventh year of reign I marched against the cities of Ha—rat, the Til-abnêite. I captured Til-abnê, his royal city, together with the cities of its neighborhood. I advanced to the source of the Tigris, where the waters gush forth (*lit.*, where the coming forth of the waters is situated). The weapon of Assur I washed therein, I offered sacrifices to my gods, I spread a gladsome banquet. I fashioned a heroic image of my royal self. The glory of Assur, my lord, every one of my deeds of bravery, which I performed in (different) lands, I wrote thereon, and set it up there.

Year 8. Against the rebels in Babylonia (ll. 73–76)

565. In my eighth year of reign there revolted against Marduk-zâkir-shumi, king of Karduniash (Babylonia), his younger brother, Marduk-bêl-usâte, (and) they divided the land totally. To avenge Marduk-zâkir-shumi, I marched forth and captured Mê-Turnat.

Year 9. Second campaign into Babylonia (ll. 77–84)

566. In my ninth[1] year of reign I marched against Akkad a second time. I besieged Gananate. As for Marduk-

[1] For a variant account of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh years see the text of a fragment from Assur (§§ 666 ff.).

bêl-usâte, the terrifying splendor of Assur (and) Marduk overcame him and he went up into the mountains to save his life. I pursued him. Marduk-bêl-usâte (and) the rebel army officers who were with him, I cut down with the sword. To the great cities I marched. I offered sacrifices in Babylon, Borsippa, (and) Kutha. I presented gifts to the great gods. I went down to Chaldea. Their cities I captured. The gifts of the kings of Chaldea I received. The terror of my arms overpowered (the enemy) as far as the Bitter Sea.

Year 10. Against Sangara of Carchemish (ll. 85–86)

567. In my tenth year of reign I crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time. The cities of Sangara of Carchemish I captured. Against the cities of Arame[1] I drew near. Arnê, his royal city, together with 100 of his small cities, I captured.

Year 11. Against Hadad-ezer and his allies (ll. 87–89)

568. In my eleventh year of reign I crossed the Euphrates for the ninth time. Countless cities I captured. Against the cities of the land of Hamath, I descended. 89 cities I captured. Hadad-ezer of Aram (? Damascus) (and) twelve kings of the land of Hatti stood by each other. I accomplished their overthrow.

Year 12. Against Pakarhubuna (ll. 89–90)

569. In my twelfth year of reign I crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time. I marched against the land of Pakarhubuna. I carried off their spoil.

Year 13. Against Iaeti (ll. 90–91)

570. In my thirteenth year of reign, I went up against the land of Iaeti. Their spoil I carried off.

Year 14. Against the Syrian allies (ll. 92–93)

571. In my fourteenth year of reign I mustered (all the resources of my) land. I crossed the Euphrates. Twelve kings

[1] Personal name.

advanced to meet me. I battled with them, I accomplished their overthrow.

Year 15. To the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates (ll. 92–93)

572. In my fifteenth year of reign I advanced to the sources of the Tigris (and) Euphrates. I set up (*i.e.*, carved) my royal image upon their cliffs.

Year 16. Eastward against Namri (ll. 93–95)

573. In the sixteenth year of reign I crossed the Azaba River. Against the land of Namri I marched. Marduk-mudammik, king of Namri, went (up into the mountains) to save his life. His goods, his armies, his gods, I carried to Assyria. Ianzû, son of Hanban, I set up as king over them.

Year 17. To Mount Amanus (ll. 96–97)

574. In my seventeenth year of reign I crossed the Euphrates. I went up on Mount Amanus; I cut cedar timbers.

Year 18. Against Hazael of Syria (ll. 97–99)

575. In my eighteenth year of reign I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Aram (? Damascus) came forth to battle. 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his cavalry, together with his camp, I captured from him.

Year 19. To Mount Amanus (ll. 99–100)

576. In my nineteenth year of reign I crossed the Euphrates for the eighteenth time. I went up on Mount Amanus. I cut cedar timbers.

Year 20. Against Kûe (Cilicia) (ll. 100–102)

577. In my twentieth year of reign I crossed the Euphrates for the twentieth time. I descended against the land of Kâue. Their cities I captured. Their spoil I carried off.

Year 21. Against Hazael (ll. 102–4)

578. In my twenty-first year of reign I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time. I advanced against the

cities of Hazael of Aram (? Damascus). Four of his cities I captured. The gifts of the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Gebalites, I received.

Year 22. Against Tabal (ll. 104–7)

579. In my twenty-second year of reign I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-second time. Against the land of Tabal I descended. At that time I received the presents of 24 kings of Tabal. To Mount ⌜Tunni⌝ (Taurus), the silver mountain,[1] and Mount Mulî, the marble mountain, I advanced.

Year 23. Against Milid (ll. 107–10)

580. In my twenty-third year of reign I crossed the Euphrates. Uetash, the royal city of Lalla of the land of Milid, I captured. The kings of the land of Tabal came and I received their gifts.

Year 24. Against Namri (ll. 110–26)

581. In my twenty-fourth year of reign I crossed over the Lower Zab. I advanced through the land of Hashimur, to the land of Namri I descended. Ianzû, king of Namri, took fright before my mighty weapons, and went up (into the mountains) to save his life. I captured Sihishalah, Bît-tamul, Bît-sakki, Bît-shêdi, his strong cities. His warriors I slew, his spoil I carried off. (His) cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The rest of them went up into the mountains. The mountain peak I stormed and captured. I slew their warriors. I brought down their booty, their goods. I departed from Namri. I received the gifts of 27 kings of the land of Parsua. From Parsua I departed. To the lands of Messi(?) and of the Medes, the lands of Araziash and Harhar I descended. The cities of Kuakinda, Tarzanabi(?), Esamul, Kinablila, together with the cities of their neighborhood, I

[1] The silver mountain is mentioned by Sargon of Akkad (cf. Poebel, *Historical Texts*, p. 178).

captured. I slew their warriors. I carried off their spoil. (Their) cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. My royal image I set up in the land of Harhâr. Ianzû, son of Haban, together with his great wealth, his gods, his sons, his daughters, his many soldiers, I carried off and brought to Assyria.

Year 25. Against Kûe (Cilicia) (ll. 126–31)

582. In my twenty-fifth year of reign I crossed the Euphrates at its flood. The gifts of the kings of Hatti, all of of them, I received. Mount Amanus I crossed over, to the cities of Katei of the land of Kaue, I descended. Timur, his royal city, I stormed and captured. I slew their warriors. I carried off their spoil. Countless cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. On my return, Mûru, the royal city of Arame, son of Agusi, I seized as a stronghold for myself. Its thresholds(?)[1] I strengthened, I built therein a palace for my royal abode.

Year 26. Against the Cilician cities (ll. 132–41)

583. In my twenty-sixth year of reign I traversed Mount Amanus for the seventh time, and for the fourth time I marched against the cities of Katei of Kaue. Tanakun, the royal city of Tulka, I besieged. The terrifying splendor of Assur, my lord, overpowered him. They came out and seized my feet. I received his hostages; silver, gold, iron, cattle, sheep, as his tribute I received from him. From Tanakun I departed, against Lamenash I advanced. The people (of that land) took to their heels, they climbed a steep mountain. The mountain peak I stormed, I captured. I slew their warriors. Their spoil, their cattle, their sheep, I brought down out of the mountain. Their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. To Tarsus (Tarzi) I advanced. They seized my feet. Silver, gold, (as) their tribute I re-

[1] See §§ 85 and 383.

ceived. Kirrî, brother of Kattei, I set up as king over them. On my return I went up on Mount Amanus, I cut cedar timbers, I carried (them) away and brought them to my city, Assur.

Year 27. Against Armenia (ll. 141–46)

584. In my twenty-seventh year of reign I mustered my chariots and troops; Dâian-Assur, the Turtan, the chief of (my) large host (widespreading armies) I dispatched at the head of my armies, against Urartu (Armenia) I sent (him). He descended against Bît-Zamâni, he entered by the pass of Ammash (and) crossed the Arzania River. Sêduri, the Armenian, heard of it and trusted in the strength (mass) of his many troops. He advanced against me, to offer battle. I fought with him, I accomplished his defeat. I filled the wide plain with the corpses of his warriors.

Year 28. Against Hattina (ll. 146–56)

585. In the twenty-eighth year of my reign, while I was staying in Calah, word was brought me that the people of Hattina had slain Lubarna their lord, and had raised Surri, who was not of royal blood (*lit.*, lord of the throne), to the kingship over them. Dâian-Assur, the Turtan, the chief of my large host (widespreading armies) I dispatched, sending him at the head of my army and camp. He crossed the Euphrates at its flood. In Kinalua, his royal city, he came to a halt. Surri, who was not of royal blood,—the awe-inspiring splendor of Assur, my lord, overcame him and he went to his fate (*lit.*, to the death of his fate). The people of Hattina became afraid before the terror of my mighty weapons, the sons of Surri, together with the rebels (*lit.*, sinners) they seized and gave (them) to me. These (rebels) I impaled on stakes. Sâsi, son of the Uzzite (*or*, an Uzzite), seized my feet. As king I set him over them. Silver, gold, lead, copper, iron, ivory, without measure, I received from them. I fashioned a heroic

image of my royal self, in Kinalua, his royal city, in his temple (*lit.*, the house of his gods) I had it set up.

Year 29. Against the land of Kirhi (ll. 156–59)

586. In my twenty-ninth year of reign I dispatched and sent (my) troops and camp against Kirhi. Upon their cities I brought destruction, I devastated (them), I burned (them) with fire. Their lands I overwhelmed like a hurricane (flood). Awe-inspiring terror I poured out over them.

Year 30. Eastward against Hubushkia, Manash, Parsua (ll. 159–74)

587. In my thirtieth year of reign, while I was staying in Calah, I dispatched Dâian-Assur, the Turtan, chief of (my) large host (widespreading armies) and sent him out at the head of my armies. He crossed the Zab, into the midst of the cities of the Hubushkians he approached; the tribute of Datana, the Hubushkian, I received. From the midst of the cities of the Hubushkians I departed, into the midst of the cities of Magdubi, the Malhisite, I (*text*, he)[1] approached. Tribute I received. From the midst of the cities of the Malhisites I departed, into the midst of the cities of Ualki, the Mannean, I approached. Ualki, the Mannean, became terrified by the splendor of my weapons, and deserted Zirta, his royal city, going up (into the mountains) to save his life. I pursued him. His cattle, his sheep, his property, in countless number, I brought back. His cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. From Manash I departed. To the cities of Shulusunu of Harruna(?), I drew near. I captured Masashuru, his royal city, together with the cities of its neighborhood. I granted pardon to Shulusunu, and his sons, I returned him to his land. Tribute and tax, (in the form of) horses broken to the yoke, I imposed. To Shurdira I drew near. I received the

[1] The change from the first to the third person, and back again, is common in the historical inscriptions, and is not ordinarily indicated in the translation.

tribute of Artasari, the Shurdirite. I descended upon Parsua. I received the tribute of the kings of Parsua. The rest of the Parsuans (*lit.*, Parsua), who were not loyal to Assur,—their cities I captured, their spoil, their property, I carried off to Assyria.

Year 31. Against Hubushkia, Musasir, Namri (ll. 174–90)

588. In my thirty-first year of reign, for the second time I set my face(?) toward Assur and Adad,[1] and at that time, while I remained in Calah, I dispatched Daian-Assur, the Turtan, commander-in-chief of (my) large army, and sent (him) forth at the head of my troops and camp. To the cities of Datâ (Datana) the Hubushkian, he drew near. Tribute I received from him. Against Sapparia, the stronghold of the land of Musasir, I marched. Sapparia, together with 46 cities of the Musasirites, I captured. I marched as far as the fortresses of the Urarteans. 50 of their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Against Gilzânu I descended. The tribute of Upû, the Gilzânite, of the Man—ites, the —burisites, the Harranites, the Shashganites, the Andites, the —rites,—cattle, sheep, horses, broken to the yoke, I received. Against the cities of the land of ⌜Tabal⌝ I went down. Perria, Shitiuaria, its strong cities, together with 22 cities of its neighborhood, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Awe-inspiring terror I poured out over them. Against the cities of the Parsuans he marched. Bushtu, Shalahamanu, Kinihamanu, strongholds, together with 23 cities of their neighborhood, I captured. I slew their warriors. I carried off their booty. Against the land of Namri I descended. The awe-inspiring terror of Assur (and) Marduk overwhelmed them. They deserted their cities. Into the wild (steep) mountains they went up. 250 of their cities I destroyed, I devas-

[1] This obscure phrase no doubt refers to the king's assumption of the *limmu*-rôle the second time. This marks the beginning of the great revolt.

tated, I burned with fire. Through the passes of Simesi at the head(?) of the land of Halman, I descended.

Over the reliefs

589. I. Tribute of Sûa, the Gilzânite. Silver, gold, lead, copper vessels, staves for the hand of the king, horses, camels, whose backs are two humps, I received from him.

590. II. Tribute of Iaua (Jehu), son of Omri (*mâr Humrî*). Silver, gold, a golden bowl, a golden beaker, golden goblets, pitchers of gold, lead, staves for the hand of the king, javelins, I received from him.

591. III. Tribute of the land of Musri. Camels, whose backs are two humps, a river-ox (buffalo), a *sakêa*, a *sûsu*, elephants, monkeys, apes, I received from him.

592. IV. Tribute of Marduk-apal-usur of Suhi. Silver, gold, pitchers of gold, ivory, javelins, *bûia*, brightly colored (and) linen garments, I received from him.

593. V. Tribute of Karparunda, of Hattina. Silver, gold, lead, copper, copper vessels, ivory, cypress (timbers), I received from him.[1]

II. THE MONOLITH INSCRIPTION

594. Our earliest annals text of Shalmaneser is the so-called "Monolith Inscription," engraved, along with the figure of the king in relief, on a stele which came to the British Museum from Kurkh (see § 496). The record of the military activities of the king, up to the battle of Karkar (sixth year), is given in detail. The stele was probably set up at the end of, or soon after, the sixth year. The text is published in IIIR, Plates 7 and 8.

Invocation of the gods. Titles and genealogy of the king (Col. I, ll. 1–12)

595. Assur, the great lord, king of all of the great gods; Anu, king of the Igigi and Anunnaki, the lord of lands; Enlil (Bêl), father of the gods, who decrees destiny, who establishes

[1] *KAH*, II, No. 99, is part of a text accompanying a relief (of Shalmaneser ?) It reads: ". . . . . of the city of Kattanaia, bringing wines and asses."

the bounds of heaven and earth; Ea, the wise, king of the Apsu, ⌜endowed⌝ with wisdom (*lit.*, knowing cunning); the god Nanir, (illuminator) of heaven and earth; the hero god, Shamash, judge of the four regions (of the world), who leads mankind aright; Ishtar, lady of conflict and battle, whose delight is warfare, (ye) great gods, who love my kingship, who have made great my rule, power, and sway, who have established for me an honored, an exalted name, far above that of all other lords!

596. Shalmaneser, king of all peoples, ⌜prince⌝, priest of Assur, mighty king, king of Assyria, king of all of the four regions (of the world), Sun of all peoples, ruler of all lands, king, sought out by the gods, favorite of Enlil (Bêl), vigilant viceroy of Assur, honored prince, who finds (his way among) the most difficult paths, who treads the summits of mountains and highlands far and near, who receives the tribute and gifts of all regions, who opens up trails, north and south (above and below), at whose mighty battle onset the regions (of earth) feel themselves threatened, at the vigor of whose bravery the lands are shaken to their foundations; mighty hero, who goes about, trusting in Assur (and) Shamash, his divine allies, who is without a rival among the princes of the four regions (of earth); the king of lands, the heroic, who advances over difficult roads, traverses mountains and seas; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, prefect of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur, whose priesthood was pleasing to the gods, at whose feet all lands bowed in submission; glorious offspring of Tukulti-Urta, who slew every foe of his, and overwhelmed them like a hurricane (deluge).

597. When Assur, the great lord, in the determination of his heart, and with his holy eyes, designated me, called me to rule over Assyria, gave to me the mighty weapon that casts down the insubmissive, crowned me with a [noble] diadem,

the rule of all lands—to rule and subject in anger the foes of Assur, he sent me forth.

Year of accession (Col. I, ll. 12–29)

598. At that time, at the beginning of my kingship, in my first year of reign, when I solemnly seated myself on the royal throne, I mustered my chariots and armies, into the passes of Simesi I entered; against Aridi, the royal city of Ninni, I drew near. I stormed (and) captured the city. Multitudes of his warriors I slew. His spoil I carried off. A pyramid (pillar) of heads I reared in front of his city. Their ⌜youths⌝ and their maidens I burnt up in the flames. While I was staying in Aridi, the tribute of the Hargeans, Harmaseans, Simeseans, Simereans, Siresheans, Ulmaneans,—horses broken to the yoke, cattle, sheep, wine, I received. From Aridi I departed. Difficult roads, steep mountains, which like the blade of an iron dagger push their summits up into the heavens, I cut through with pickaxes of bronze and copper. Chariots and troops I led (over them). I drew near to Hubushkia. Hubushkia, together with 100 cities of its neighborhood, I burned with fire. Kakia, king of the Nairî-land, and the rest of his armies, became frightened at (before) my terrible weapons (the terror of my weapons) and took to the high mountains (*lit.*, mighty mountains). I climbed the mountain after them, I fought a terrible battle in the midst of the mountains. I smote them utterly. Chariots, troops, horses, broken to the yoke, I brought back out of the mountains. The awe-inspiring fear of ⌜Assur⌝, my lord, overcame them. They came down (and) seized my feet. Tribute and tax I imposed upon them. From Hubushkia I departed. [To⌝ Sugunia, the royal city of Arame, the Urartian (Armenian), I drew near. The city I stormed (and) captured. Multitudes of his warriors I slew. His booty I carried off. A pyramid (pillar) of heads I reared in front of his city.

14 cities of the neighborhood I burned with fire. From Sugunia I departed. To the sea of the Nairî-land I descended. I washed my weapons in the sea. I offered sacrifices to my gods. At that time I made an image of my likeness; the glory of Assur, the great lord, my lord, and the power of my might, I wrote thereon; I set it up by the sea. On my return from the sea I received the tribute of Asû, the Guzanite,—horses, cattle, sheep, wine, 2 camels of two humps; to my city Assur I carried (them).

Year 1 (Col. I, l. 29—Col. II, l. 13)

599. In the month *Airu*, the thirteenth day, I departed from Nineveh, I crossed the Tigris, traversed the lands of Hasamu and ⌜Dihnunu.⌝ To the city of La'la'ti, of Ahuni, son of Adini, I drew near. The awe-inspiring terror of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed (them) and they went up [into the mountains]. The city I destroyed, I devastated, I burned it with fire. From La'la'ti I departed. ⌜To Ki—ka, the royal city] of Ahuni, son of Adini, I drew near. Ahuni, son of Adini, [trusted in the mass of his armies,⌝ and ⌜came out against⌝ me [to offer] battle and fight. Trusting in Assur and the great gods, my lords, I battled with him, I accomplished his defeat. I shut him up in his city. From Ki—ka(?) I departed, against Burmar'ana, (a city) of Ahuni, son of [Adini, I drew near. The city] I stormed and captured. 300 of their warriors I cut down with the sword. A pyramid (pillar) of heads ⌜I erected in front of the city.⌝ The tribute of Hapini, the Til-abnite, of Ga'uni, the [Sallite⌝, of Giri(?)-Adad, the —ite,—silver, gold, cattle, sheep, wine, I received. From Burmar'ana I departed. In (goat)-skin rafts I crossed the Euphrates. The tribute of Katazilu, of Kummuhi (Commagene),—silver, gold, cattle, sheep, wines, I received. Against the land of ⌜Pakarruhbuni⌝ (and) the cities of Ahuni, son of Adini, which are on that (the farther) bank of the Euphrates, I drew near.

I overthrew the (whole) land. His cities I turned into ruins. With his fallen warriors I filled the wide plain. 1,300 of their fighters I cut down with the sword. From Pakarruhbuni I departed. To the cities of Mutalli, the Gurgumean, I drew near. The tribute of Mutalli, the Gurgumean,—silver, gold, cattle, wines, his daughter, with her costly (large) dowry, I received. From Gurgum I departed. Against Lutibu, the royal city of Hâni, the Sam'alite, I drew near. Hâni, the Sam'alite, Sapalulme, the Hattinite, Ahuni, son of Adini, Sangara, of Carchemish,—they trusted in each other's help, prepared for battle, came out against me to offer resistance. In the mighty power of Nergal, who goes before me, in the terrible weapons which Assur, the lord, gave me, I fought with them, I defeated them. Their warriors I slew with the sword. Like Adad I rained destruction upon them; in the moat (of the city) I piled them up; with the corpses of their warriors I filled the wide plain. With their blood I dyed the mountains like red wool. Large numbers of chariots and horses, broken to the yoke, I took from him. A pyramid (pillar) of heads I reared up in front of his city. His cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

600. At that time I made humble acknowledgment of the greatness of the great gods; the heroic might of Assur and Shamash I extolled for all time to come. I fashioned a heroic image of my royal self. My deeds of heroism, my acts of bravery, I wrote thereon. At the sources of the Saluara River, which is at the foot of Mount Amanus, I set it up. From Mount Amanus I departed. The Arantu (Orontes) River I crossed. Against Alimush, the stronghold of Sapalulme, the Hattinite, I drew near. Sapalulme, the Hattinite, to save his life, summoned to his aid Ahuni, son of Adini, Sagara, of Carchemish, Haiânu, the Sama'lite, Katê, the Kuean, Pihirisi, the Hilukite, Buranate, the Iasbukite, Ada- . . . . Assur, (*Col. II*) . . . . . their forces I shattered.

The city I stormed and captured. . . . . his numerous chariots, his horses, broken to the yoke, . . . I carried off . . . . . I slew with the sword. In the midst of that battle, Buranate, the Iasbukite, ... my hands captured. The strongholds of the Hattineans, I ⌜approached⌝. [The lands of the Upper Sea⌝ of Amurri, and the sea of the setting sun, I ⌜overthrew them⌝ (so that they) were like the ruins (left by) a deluge. The tribute of the kings of the sea-coast I received. Along the shore of the wide sea I marched, justified (straight-forward?) and triumphant. An image of my royal self, as witness of my name for all time to come, I made and ⌜set up⌝ by the sea. I climbed Mount Amanus; timbers of cedar and cypress I cut. To the mountain of . . . . to Mount Atalur, where the image of Anhirbi had been set up, I marched. My image I erected alongside of his. I descended to the sea. The cities of Taiâ, Hazazu, Nulia, Butâmu, which belonged to the Hattinean, I captured. 2,800(?) of his warriors, I slew. 14,600 of them I carried off as booty. The tribute of Arame, son of Gûzi,—⌜silver,⌝ gold, cattle, sheep, wines, (and) a couch of gold (and) silver I received.

Year 2 (Col. II, ll. 13–30)

601. In the eponym year bearing my own name, on the thirteenth of *Airu*, from [Nineveh] I departed. I crossed the Tigris, I marched across the lands of Hasamu (and) Dihnunu. I drew near to Til-bursip, the stronghold of Ahuni, son of Adini. Ahuni, son of Adini, trusted in the mass of his armies, and came out against me. I accomplished his overthrow. In [his city] I shut him up. From Til-bursip I departed, in (goat)-skin rafts I crossed the Euphrates, at its flood. The cities of . . . . . -gâ, Tagi— . . . . . Sûrunu, Paripa, Til-basherê, Dabigu,—six of the strong cities of Ahuni, son of Adini, I stormed and captured. Multitudes of his warriors I

slew. Their spoil I carried off. 200 cities of their neighborhood I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. From Dabigu I departed. To Sazabê, the stronghold of Sangara, of Carchemish, I drew near. The city I stormed and captured. Multitudes of his warriors I slew. Their spoil I carried off. The cities of its neighborhood I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The kings of the land of ⌜Amurru(?)⌝, all of them, became terrified at the approach of my mighty, awe-inspiring weapons, and my grim warfare, and they seized my feet. From . . . . . of the Hattinites, I received 3 talents of gold, 100 talents of silver, 300 talents of copper, 300 talents of iron, 1,000 copper vessels, 1,000 brightly colored garments (of wool) and linen, his daughter with her large dowry, 20 talents of purple wool, 500 cattle, 5,000 sheep. One talent of silver, 2 talents of purple wool, 200 cedar logs, I imposed upon him as his tribute. Yearly I received it in my city Assur. Haiânu, son of Gabbari, (who lived) at the foot of Mount Amanus,—10 talents of silver, 90 talents of copper, 30 talents of iron, 300 brightly colored garments of wool and linen, 300 cattle, 3,000 sheep, 200 cedar logs, 2 homers of cedar resin (*lit.*, blood of the cedar), his daughter with her rich dowry, I received from him. 10 minas of silver, 100 cedar logs, a homer of cedar resin, I laid upon him as his tribute; yearly I received it. Aramu, son of Agûsi,—10 minas of ⌜gold⌝, 6 talents of silver, 500 cattle, 5,000 sheep, I received from him. Sangara, of Carchemish,—3 talents of gold, 70 talents of silver, 30 talents of copper, 100 talents of iron, 20 talents of purple wool, 500 weapons, his daughter, with dowry, and 100 daughters of his nobles, 500 cattle, 5,000 sheep, I received from him. 1 mina of gold, 1 talent of silver, 2 talents of purple wool, I imposed upon him (as tribute) and received from him yearly. Katazilu, of Kummuhu,—20 minas of silver, 300 cedar logs, yearly I received (from him).

Year 3 (Col. II, ll. 30–66)

602. In the eponymy of Assur-bêl-kain, in the month of ⌜*Duzu*(?)⌝, the thirteenth day, I departed from Nineveh. The Tigris I crossed. The lands of Hasamu (and) Dihnunu I traversed. To Til-bursip, the stronghold of Ahuni, son of Adini, I approached. Ahuni, son of Adini, (terrified by) my terrible, awe-inspiring weapons and my grim warfare, crossed over [to the other side] of the Euphrates, to save his life, and made his way to other lands. At the command of Assur, the great lord, my lord, Til-bursip, Aligu, [Nappigi], Rugulit(?),[1] I turned into royal cities of mine. Men of Assyria I settled therein. Palaces for my royal residence I built in its midst. [The name] of Til-bursip I changed to (*lit.*, named) Kâr-Shalmaneser, the name of Nappigi to Lita-Assur, the name of Alligu to Asbat-lakunu, the name of Ruguliti to Kibit—.

603. At that time the city of Ana-Assur-uter-asbat, which the people of Hatti called Pitru, which is on the Sagur River, ⌜and which is on the other side of the Euphrates,⌝ and the city of Mutkînu, which is on this side of the Euphrates, which Tiglath-pileser, my ancestor, who went before me, had settled, (and) which in the reign of Assur-rabi, king of Assyria, the king of the land of Arumu had seized by force, those cities I restored to their (former) estate (*lit.*, place); men of Assyria I settled therein. While I was staying in Kâr-Shalmaneser I received the tribute of the kings of the seacoast and the kings of (the lands along) the bank(s) of the Euphrates,—silver, gold, lead, copper, copper vessels, cattle, sheep, brightly colored woolen and linen garments.

604. From Kâr-Shalmaneser I departed. I traversed the land of Sumu(?), descended upon the land of Bît-Zamâni. From Bît-Zamâni I departed. The lands (*or*, mountains) of Namdânu (and) Merhisu, I traversed. Difficult ⌜roads⌝, steep mountains, whose peaks push up into heaven like a dagger

[1] Text on stone not clear, but this reading fits the context.

blade, I cut through with bronze pickaxes; chariots and troops I led (over them). Against the land of Enzite of the land of Ishua I descended. Enzite in its totality my hands conquered. Their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Their booty, their property and their goods, without number, I carried off. A heroic statue of my royal self I made. The glory of Assur the great lord, my lord, and the power of my might I wrote thereon. (In) Saluria, under an empty . . . . . , I set it up. From Enzite I departed. The river Arsania I crossed. To the land of Suhme I drew near. Uashtal, its stronghold, I captured. The land of Suhme in its entirety I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Sûa, their governor, I seized. From the land of Suhme I departed. Against the land of Daiaeni I descended. The city of Daiaeni I captured in its totality. Their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Their booty, their goods, and possessions in large numbers, I seized. From Daiaeni I departed.

605. To Arzashku, the royal city of Arrame, the Urartean (Armenian), I drew near. Arramu, the Urartean, became frightened at my mighty, awe-inspiring weapons, and my grim warfare, and forsook his city. He went up into Mount Adduri. I climbed the mountain after him; fought a terrible battle in the midst of the mountains; 3,400 of his warriors I slew with the sword. Like Adad I rained destruction upon them. With their blood I dyed ⌜the mountain⌝ like red wool. I took his camp from him. His chariots, his cavalry, his horses, his mules, colts(?), his goods, his spoil, his property, in large quantities I brought out of the mountain. Arramu, to save his life, climbed a steep mountain. In my virile vigor I trampled down his land like a wild bull. His cities I turned to wastes. Arzashku, together with the cities of its neighborhood, I destroyed, I devastated, ⌜I burned with fire⌝. Four(?) pyramids (pillars) of heads I erected in front of its gate. Some (of his people) I fastened alive into these pyramids, others I

hung up on stakes around the pyramids. From Arzashku I departed.

606. I ⌜climbed up Mount Eritia⌝. A heroic statue of my royal self I made. The glory of Assur, my lord, and the power of my might, which I had displayed (in) the land of Urartu, I wrote thereon. On Mount Eritia I set it up. From Mount Eritia I departed. To the city of Aramalê I drew near. Its cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. ⌜From⌝ Aramalê I departed. To Zanziuna [I drew near] . . . . . he feared, and seized my feet. Horses, broken to the yoke, cattle, sheep, I received from him. I had mercy on him. . . . . [In the course of my march⌝, I descended to the sea of the land of Nairî; the terrible weapons of Assur I washed in the sea. Sacrifices [I offered. An image of my royal self I made⌝. The glory of Assur, the great lord, my lord, my deeds of heroism, my acts of bravery, I ⌜wrote thereon. From the sea-shore I departed⌝.

607. To the land of ⌜Gilzânu⌝ I drew near. Asâu, king of Gilzânu, together with his brothers, his sons, came out against me. [Tribute and gifts for my royal self⌝,—horses, broken to the yoke, cattle, sheep, wines, seven camels, whose humps are double, I received from him. A heroic statue of my royal self I made. The glory of Assur, the great lord, my lord, and the power of the might which I had displayed in the land of Nairî, I wrote thereon. In the midst of his city, in his temple, I set it up. From Gilzânu I departed. To Shilaia, the stronghold of Kâki, king of Hubushkia, I drew near. The city I stormed and captured. Multitudes of his warriors I slew. 3,000 of them as captives, their cattle, their sheep, horses, mules, colts(?) without number, I carried off, and brought them to my city Assur. Into the pass of the land of Enzite I entered. By the pass of the land of Kirruri, to the north of Arbela, I came out.

A short résumé of the sorties against Ahuni before the fourth year (Col. II, ll. 66–69)

608. Ahuni, son of Adini, who had done bold and violent deeds against the kings, my fathers,—at the beginning of my reign, the eponymy year bearing my name, I departed from Nineveh. Til-bursip, his stronghold, I stormed, I surrounded it with my . . . . warriors, and fought a battle in its midst. Its gardens (parks) I cut down; a fiery rain of spears I showered upon them. He became frightened at my awe-inspiring weapons and my lordly splendor, forsook his city, crossed the Euphrates to save his life.

Year 4 (Col. II, ll. 69–78)

609. In a second year, in the eponymy year of Assur-bânaia-usur, I pursued him. Mount Shîtamrat, a mountain peak on the bank of the Euphrates, which is like a cloud hanging from the heavens, he made into his stronghold. At the command of Assur, the great lord, my lord, and Nergal, who goes before me, I drew near to Mount Shîtamrat, into which none of the kings, my fathers, had come. In three days the hero conquered the mountain, his stout heart bent on battle, —on his (own) feet he climbed up, and overcame the mountain. Ahuni trusted in his widespreading hosts and came forth against me. He drew up the battle line. The weapons of Assur, my lord, I hurled among them. Their defeat I brought about. I cut off the heads of his warriors. With the blood of his soldiers I dyed the mountain. Multitudes of his (men) hurled themselves upon the cliffs of the mountain. I fought a terrible battle in his city's midst. The awe-inspiring splendor of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed them, they came down, they seized my feet. Ahuni with his armies, chariots, his cavalry, the lavish wealth (property) of his palace, which was immeasurable (*lit.*, whose weight could not be taken), came before

me. I had (the booty) taken across the Tigris, brought to my city Assur; and I distributed it (*lit.*, them) among the peoples of my land. In the same year I marched against the land of Mazamua. The pass into (*lit.*, of) the land of Bunagish I entered. To the cities of Nikdime (and) Nikdiera I drew near. They became frightened at my mighty, awe-inspiring weapons and my grim warfare, cast themselves upon the sea in wicker(?) boats. I followed after them in boats of (goat skins), fought a great battle on the sea, defeated them, and with their blood I dyed the sea like wool.

Year 6 (Col. II, 78–102)

610. In the year of Dâian-Assur, in the month of *Airu*, the fourteenth day, I departed from Nineveh, crossed the Tigris, and drew near to the cities of Giammu, (near) the Balih(?) River. At the fearfulness of my sovereignty, the terror of my frightful weapons, they became afraid; with their own weapons his nobles killed Giammu. Into Kitlala and Til-sha-mâr-ahi, I entered. I had my gods brought into his palaces. In his palaces I spread a banquet. His treasury I opened. I saw his wealth. His goods, his property, I carried off and brought to my city Assur. From Kitlala I departed. To Kâr-Shalmaneser I drew near. In (goat)-skin boats I crossed the Euphrates the second time, at its flood. The tribute of the kings on that side of the Euphrates,—of Sangara of Carchemish, of Kundashpi of Kumuhu (Commagene), of Arame son of Gûzi, of Lalli the Milidean, of Haiani son of Gabari, of Kalparuda of Hattina, of Kalparuda of Gurgum,—silver, gold, lead, copper, vessels of copper, at Ina-Assur-uttir-asbat, on that side of the Euphrates, on the river Sagur, which the people of Hatti call Pitru, there I received (it). From the Euphrates I departed, I drew near to Halman (Aleppo). They were afraid to fight with (me), they seized my feet. Silver, gold, as their tribute I received. I

offered sacrifices before the god Adad of Halman. From Halman I departed. To the cities of Irhulêni, the Hamathite, I drew near. The cities of Adennu, Bargâ, Arganâ, his royal cities, I captured. His spoil, his property, the goods of his palaces, I brought out. I set fire to his palaces. From Arganâ I departed. To Karkar I drew near.

611. Karkar, his royal city, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalry, 20,000 soldiers, of Hadad-ezer, of Aram (? Damascus); 700 chariots, 700 cavalry, 10,000[1] soldiers of Irhulêni of Hamath, 2,000 chariots, 10,000 soldiers of Ahab, the Israelite, 500 soldiers of the Gueans, 1,000 soldiers of the Musreans, 10 chariots, 10,000 soldiers of the Irkanateans, 200 soldiers of Matinu-ba'il, the Arvadite, 200 soldiers of the Usanateans, 30 chariots, [ ],000 soldiers of Adunu-ba'il, the Shianean, 1,000 camels of Gindibu', the Arabian, [ ],000 soldiers [of] Ba'sa, son of Ruhubi, the Ammonite,—these twelve kings he brought to his support; to offer battle and fight, they came against me. (Trusting) in the exalted might which Assur, the lord, had given (me), in the mighty weapons, which Nergal, who goes before me, had presented (to me), I battled with them. From Karkar, as far as the city of Gilzau, I routed them. 14,000 of their warriors I slew with the sword. Like Adad, I rained destruction upon them. I scattered their corpses far and wide, (and) covered (*lit.*, filled) the face of the desolate plain with their widespreading armies. With (my) weapons I made their blood to flow down the valleys(?) of the land. The plain was too small to let their bodies fall, the wide countryside was used up in burying them. With their bodies I spanned the Arantu (Orontes) as with a bridge(?). In that battle I took from them their chariots, their cavalry, their horses, broken to the yoke.

[1] Possibly 20,000.

III. THE "BRONZE GATES OF BALÂWÂT"

612. The "Bronze Gates of Balâwât," as they are popularly known from the alleged site of their discovery (in 1876), are one of the choicest treasures of the British Museum. From the earliest to the latest days of Assyrian history we hear of gates and doors of cedar, and other woods, "whose odor is pleasant," covered with bands of bronze, sometimes even silver and gold, and set up in the entrances to palace or temple. In the *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, edited by King, will be found collotype reproductions of the thirteen bronze bands which formed part of the decoration of the "Balâwât Gates," and which have generally been conceded to "represent the finest example of work in *bronze repoussé* which has survived from so early a period."[1] The recent remarkable discoveries of Hall and Woolley at Tel Obeid, near the site of the ancient Ur, will hardly compel us to modify our estimate of the Shalmaneser bronzes, but they do raise the question as to whether King's doubts as to their source, based upon the smallness of the mound of Balâwât, are justified. The reader is referred to King's work for a detailed description of the bronzes, as well as for a bibliography of the more important works dealing with them. Below is given King's table of "the thirteen bands in the British Museum . . . . . in the chronological order of the scenes engraved upon them," as well as a translation of the short descriptions engraved in the field above the figures by the Assyrian artists.

613.

Band	Date of Expedition*	Region	Principal Places	Texts
I.	860 B.C.	Armenia.	Lake Van; Sugunia.	Mon., Obv. ll. 23–7.
II.	860 B.C.	Armenia.	Cities of Urartu.	Mon., Obv. l. 25.
III.	859 B.C.	Phoenicia.	Tyre, Sidon; Hazazu.	Gate Inscr., II. ll. 3–5 Mon., Rev., ll. 5–7, 10–12, and cf. Bl. Ob. ll. 26–31.
IV.	858 B.C.	Northern Syria.	Dabigu.	Mon. Rev. ll. 13–18. Bl. Ob. ll. 32–5.
V.	858 B.C.	Northern Syria.	Unku.	Mon. Rev. ll. 21–4, and possibly ll. 24–7
VI.	858 B.C.	Northern Syria.	Carchemish.	Mon. Rev. ll. 18–20, 27–9.

[1] King, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Not so well known are the bronzes from the gates of a palace of Assur-nâsir-pal, father of Shalmaneser (see §§ 540–43).

Band	Date of Expedition*	Region	Principal Places	Texts
VII.	857.B.C.	Armenia.	Urartu; Gilzani.	Gate Inscr. II, 155—III l. 3 Mon., Rev. ll. 47–54, 60–2. Bl. Ob., ll. 42–4; Bull Inscr, ll. 55–60.
VIII.	855.B.C.	North-East Mesopotamia.	Shubru.	Bl. Ob. ll. 52–4 Bull. Inscr. ll. 66–7.
IX.	854.B.C.	Syria (Hamath).	Pargâ, Ada, Karkar.	Mon. Rev., ll 87–101. Bl. Ob. ll. 67–66; Bull Inscr. ll. 71–4
X.	853 B.C.	Source of Tigris.	Kulisi.	Bl. ob. ll. 67–72. Bull Inscr, ll. 75–7.
XI.	851 B.C.	South Babȳlonia.	Bît-Dakuri.	Gate Inscr. IV. l. 1—VI, l. 8. Bl. Ob. ll. 83–4; Bull Inscr. l. 82–4.
XII.	850 B.C.	Northern Syria.	Arnê.	Bl. Ob. ll. 85–6. Bull Inscr. ll. 84–7, and possibly ll. 90 f., 94 f.
XIII.	849 B.C.	Syria (Hamath).	Ashtamaku.	Bl. Ob. ll. 87–8; Bull Inscr. ll. 91–2.

* The dates are King's. No changes have been made.

614. The scenes of the bands are engraved upon two registers, an upper and a lower. They are intended to portray the most striking episodes of the different campaigns of the king. The descriptions accompanying them read as follows:

Band I, u.r. (*upper register*)

I set up an image on the shore of the sea of Nairî; I offered sacrifices to my gods.

Band I, l.r. (*lower register*)

I captured Sugunia, the city of Arame of Urartu (Armenia).

Band II, u.r.

Smiting of [ ] of the land of Urartu.

Band III, u.r.

I received the tribute of the ships of the men of Tyre and Sidon.

Band III, l.r.

Smiting of the city of Hazazu.

Band IV, u.r.

Smiting of Dabigu, the city of Ahuni, son of Adini.

Band V, u.r.

Tribute of the Unkians.

Band VI, u.r.

Tribute of Sangara of Carchemish.

Band VII, u.r.

I captured the city of Arame, the Urartian (Armenian).

Band VII, l.r.

Tribute of the men of Gilzani.

Band VIII, u.r.

I captured Ubume, the city of Anhiti of Shupria.

Band IX, u.r.

I captured the city of Pargâ; Adâ, a city of Urhilêni of the land of Hamath, I captured.

Band IX, l.r.

Karkar, the city of Urhilêni of the land of Hamath, I captured.

Band X, l.r.

Kulisi, the royal city of Mutzuata, I captured, I burned with fire. I entered the sources of the river, I offered sacrifices to the gods, my royal image I set up.

Band XI, u.r.

The tribute of Adini, son of Dakuri, the Chaldean.

Band XII, u.r.

Arnê, the city of Arame, I captured.

Band XII, l.r.

—agdâ, the city of Arame, son of Gusi, I captured.

Band XIII, u.r.

Ashtamaku, the royal city of Irhulêni of the land of Hamath,[1] together with eighty-six cities I captured.

615. In addition to the bronze bands which were nailed across the doors and around the massive doorposts, there was a sheathing of bronze running from the top to the bottom of the free edge of each of the doors. On these edgings was engraved the so-called "Gate Inscription," in duplicate. Only a selected few events from the first four years are recorded, and the inscription closes with a detailed account of the campaigns against Babylonia, years 8 and 9. But in view of the fact that the scenes and inscriptions on the bands include the campaigns against Arnê and Ashtamaku, it is probable that the gates were not set up until after the eleventh year.

The text was published in *TSBA*, VII, 89 f., and again by Pinches, *The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balawat.* See also Billerbeck and Delitzsch in *BA*, VI (Part 1), and Unger, *Zum Bronzetor von Balawat.*

Titles and genealogy of the king; résumé of his conquests (Col. I, l. 1—Col. II, l. 5)

616. Shalmaneser, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of [Assyria, son of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, grandson of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of] Assyria; the powerful hero who in the four regions (of the world) gives no quarter, who conquers rebellion, ... to whose hand all the regions (of the earth) are intrusted, who crushes those who do not submit to Assur; the mighty flood, ... in whose hands Assur has set the ends of the lands. King of the regions (of earth, who is covered) with splendor, who is fearless in battle, ... [under the yoke] of whose dominion, mighty (and) ruthless kings, as far as the setting sun, have bowed . . . . . Shalmaneser, the rightful ruler, priest of Assur, the powerful.

[1] The syllable *Ha* of *Ha-ma-ta-a-a* was omitted by the engraver.

617. At that time, when Assur, the great lord, [my lord, had uttered my name for the rulership] of the nations, and had crowned me with the exalted crown of dominion, (when) he had intrusted to my hand the sword, the scepter (and) the staff (to rule) all peoples, and I was going about, (trusting) in the aid of Assur, the great lord, my lord, and the god who loves my priesthood, (and when) all lands and mountain regions, to their farthest border, he had placed under my hand;—I, Shalmaneser, the mighty king, the Sun of all peoples . . . . . conquered from the sea of Nairî and the sea Zamua, which (lies) inside, and the great sea of Amurru,—the Hittite-land to its farthest border I overwhelmed (so that it was) like a mound (left by) the flood. 44,400 mighty warriors I carried away from their lands and reckoned them with the people of my land. . . . . The splendor of my sovereignty I poured out over the Hittite-land.

618. On my march to the sea, I made a heroic image of my royal (self) and set it up beside the image of Anhirbe (*or*, Ilu-hirbe). The cities along my path I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. . . . . I marched to the Great Sea. I washed my weapons in the Great Sea. I offered sacrifices to my gods. The tribute of all the kings of the seacoast I received. I made a heroic image of my royal (self) and I inscribed thereon the mighty deeds which I had done by the shore of the sea, and I set it up by the sea.[1]

Year 3 (Col. II, l. 5—Col. III, l. 5)

619. From Enzite to Daiaeni, from Daiaeni to . . . . . Arsashkun, the royal city of Arama of Urartu, I captured, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. While I tarried in Arsashkun, Aramu of Urartu put his trust

[1] Probably at the mouth of the Dog River. None, however, of the six (or seven) Assyrian monuments to be seen at this place can be identified as Shalmaneser's (see Vol. II, § 582).

in the multitude of his troops and mustered all of his armies. He advanced against me intent on battle and combat. I defeated him, I shattered (the resistance) of his warriors, 3,000 of his fighters I struck down with the sword. With the blood of his soldiers I filled the wide plain. His battle equipment, his royal treasure, his cavalry, I took away from him. To save his life he climbed a steep mountain. The broad land of the Kutê I ravaged like Girra (the pest-god). From Arsashkun to Gilzâni, from Gilzâni to Hubushkia, I thundered over them like Adad, the Storm-god. My harsh rule (*lit.*, the bitterness of my rule) I established over Urartu.

620. Ahuni, son of Adini, who since (the days) of the kings, my fathers, had been exercising haughty and forceful (rulership), I shut up in his city, carried off the grain (*lit.*, crops) of his (fields), cut down his orchards. To save his life he crossed the Euphrates and made into his stronghold Shîtamrat, a mountain peak which hangs from the sky like a cloud, (*v.*, which is situated[?] on the bank of the Euphrates . . . . .).

Year 4. Defeat and capture of Ahuni (*Col. III, ll. 5–6*)

621. In a second year I went after him. I besieged the mountain peak. My warriors pursued (*lit.*, flew at) them like the (divine) Zû-bird. 17,500 of his soldiers I carried off. Ahuni, together with his armies, his gods, his chariots (and) his horses I took for myself, I brought (them) to my city Assur, and reckoned them with the people (? *text*, houses) of my land.

Year 8. Against the rebels in Babylonia (*Col. IV, ll. 1–5*)

622. In the eponymy of Shamash-bêl-usur (and) in the reign of Marduk-zâkir-shumi, king of Karduniash (Babylonia), Marduk-bêl-usâte, his brother, revolted against him (*i.e.*, the Babylonian king) and tore the whole land asunder (*lit.*, divided it totally). Marduk-zâkir-shumi sent his mes-

senger to Shalmaneser, (to ask) for his aid. Shalmaneser, the powerful, the ferocious, whose ally is the god Urta, marched forth (*lit.*, took the road), gave the order to advance upon Akkad. I drew near to the city of Zaban. Sacrifices I offered before Adad, my lord. From Zaban I departed. To the city of Mê-turnat I drew near. (That) city I stormed, I captured, I slew its inhabitants, I carried off its spoil. From Mê-turnat I departed. To the city of Gannanâte I drew near. Marduk-bêl-usâte, the wretched king, who did not know what he was about (*lit.*, his own way), came out against me, offering battle and combat. I defeated him, I slew his people, I shut him up in his city, I carried off the grain of his fields, I cut down his orchards, I turned aside (*lit.*, dammed) his river.

Year 9. Against Babylonia (Col. IV, l. 5—Col. VI, l. 8)

623. On a second campaign, in the eponymy of Bêl-bunâia, on the twentieth day of *Nisanu*, I departed from Nineveh, crossed the Upper and Lower Zab, (and) drew near to the city of Lahiru. (That) city I stormed, I captured, its people I slew, its spoil I carried off. From Lahiru I departed, to Gannanâte I drew near. Marduk-bêl-usâte got away, like a fox, through a hole (in the wall, and) turned his face toward the mountains (in) Iasubi. (There) he made the city of Arman his stronghold. I captured Gannanâte, I slew its inhabitants, I carried away its spoil. I climbed the mountain in pursuit of him. I shut him up in Arman. I stormed that city, I captured (it), I slew its inhabitants, I carried off its spoil. Marduk-bêl-usâte I cut down with the sword, and (of) the camp-followers[1] who were with him, not one escaped.

624. After Marduk-zâkir-shumi had conquered his foes, and Shalmaneser, the mighty king, had attained to all his heart's desires, he (Shalmaneser) gave heed to (*lit.*, honored) the command of the great lord Marduk. Shalmaneser, king of

[1] The Assyrian is making a sarcastic reference to the kind of men rebel leaders gather round them (cf. Sennacherib, II, §252, and I Sam. 22:1 f.).

Assyria, issued the command to proceed to Babylon. He reached Kutha, the city of the warrior of the gods, the exalted Nergal. At the door of the temple he bowed humbly (in prayer), he offered his sacrifices and presented his gifts. He entered Babylon, the bond (connecting-link) of heaven and earth, the abode of life. He went up to Esagila, the temple of the gods, the abode of the king of the universe. Before Bêl and the queen he made his reverent appearance and directed their step.[1] His splendid sacrifices and pure offerings he lavished upon Esagila. (In) the shrines (*lit.*, houses) of the gods, of Esagila and Babylon, he offered his pure sacrifices. He betook himself (*lit.*, took the road) to Borsippa, the city of the warrior of the gods, the exalted, the ferocious Son.[2] He entered into Ezida, ⌜the house of destiny⌝, the house of his unchangeable law. He bowed (in prayer) and directed his step, reverently, into the presence of Nabû and Nanâ, his lords. Large cattle and fat sheep he provided, he offered up lavishly. (In) the shrines of the gods of Borsippa and Ezida he offered gifts,—to (all) alike. For the people of Babylon and Borsippa, the protégés, the freemen of the great gods, he prepared a feast, he gave them food and wine, he clothed them in brightly colored garments and presented them with gifts.

625. After the great gods had looked with favor upon Shalmaneser, the mighty king, king of Assyria, and had "directed" his countenance(?), had received the debasement(?) of his heart and (his) petition(?), had heard his prayer, I departed from Babylon, to Kaldu (Chaldea) I went down. I drew near to the city of Bakâni (*v.*, Bani), the stronghold of Adinu, son of Dakûri. (That) city I stormed, I captured. Large numbers of his men I slew. Their heavy booty—their cattle and their sheep, I carried off. (That) city I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. From Bakâni I departed. The Euphrates I crossed with him. Against Enradi, the royal

[1] A reference to the procession of the gods. [2] *I.e.*, Nabû.

city of Adinu, I drew near. Adinu, son of Dakûri,—the terrible splendor of Marduk, the great lord, overwhelmed him and heavy tribute,—gold, silver, copper, lead, iron . . . . . (*v.*, ... copper, elephants' tusks, elephants' hides) I received from him. While I was staying on the shore of the sea, I received the tribute of Iakinu, king of the sea-land, of Mushallim-Marduk, son of Aukani,—silver, gold, lead, copper . . . . . elephants' tusks, elephants' hides.

IV. FRAGMENTS OF THE ROYAL ANNALS

A. FROM ASSUR

626. From Kalat Sherkat we have three fragments of the annals as they were edited some time after the sixteenth year. The texts are published in *KAH*, II, Nos. 112–14. It is possible that the first of these, which contained a full account of the events of the year of accession, belongs to a much earlier period.

Titles and geneaology of the king

627. 1. (No. 112) [Shalmaneser, etc. . . . . son of Assur-nâsir-pal], the exalted [priest], whose priesthood [was pleasing to the gods, and who brought in submission to his feet] all [lands]; illustrious offspring of Tukulti-Urta, who slew all his foes and [destroyed them like a hurricane.]

Year of accession

628. At that time, at the beginning of my reign, [when I solemnly seated myself] on the royal throne, [I mustered] my chariots and armies, [entered] the passes [of Simesi]. Into the city of Aridu, the stronghold of Ninni, [I advanced]. (That) city I stormed and captured. Many of their warriors I ⌜slew⌝, [and their spoil] I carried off. From Aridu I departed, [to Hubushkia] I drew near. Hubushkia, together with 100 towns [in its neighborhood], I burned with fire. Kâki, king of ⌜Hubushkia⌝, before the terror of my mighty arms [he became afraid] and he ⌜made⌝ the mountain his stronghold. A

fierce battle [I waged] in the midst of the mountain. . . . . .

Year 3 (?)

629. (*Rev.*) . . . . . from the city . . . . . from the land of ⌜Gilzânu⌝ . . . . . like . . . .

Summary

630. . . . . lands and mountains. . . . . I imposed tribute and tax, and service. . . . . .

Hunting exploits of the king

631. The gods Urta and Nergal, who love my priesthood, have intrusted to me [the wild creatures of the field, commanding me] to follow the chase. . . . . X+73 wild oxen, 399, ... [X lions?] in my hunting(?) chariots and by my lordly attack, [with . . . . . I slew.] X+33 elephants from ⌜ambush I slew] . . . . .

Year of accession

632. 2. (No. 113) . . . . . their plunder I carried off. From ⌜Aridu I departed], to Hubushkia I drew near. ⌜Hubushkia], together with 100 cities of its neighborhood, [I burned with fire⌝. Kâki, king of Hubushkia, became frightened before the terror of my mighty ⌜weapons⌝, and made the mountain his stronghold. I climbed the mountain, I waged a fierce battle in the mountain. What was left of their possessions I brought down out of the mountain. From Hubushkia I departed. To the sea of ⌜Nairî] I advanced. I washed my weapons in the sea, (and) offered sacrifices to the gods. On my return from the sea, I received the tribute of Azû, the Gilzânite. To my city Assur, I brought it.

Year 1

633. In my first year of reign I crossed the Euphrates at its flood, and advanced to the sea of [Amurru, of] the setting

sun. I washed my weapons in the sea, (and) offered ⌜sacrifices to] my gods. Mount Amanus I climbed. ⌜Logs⌝ of cedar and cypress (pine) I cut. I climbed Mount Lallar, (and) set up my royal [image] thereon. The cities of the Hattineans, [of] Ahûni, son of Adini, of the people of Carchemish, of the people of ⌜Bargun⌝, ⌜which are of the other side⌝ of the Euphrates, I destroyed I devastated, I burned with fire.

Year 2

634. [In my second year of reign⌝ I departed from Nineveh, to Til-Bursip[1] ⌜I drew near⌝. The cities of Ahûni, son of Adini, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned [with fire]. I shut him up in his city. The Euphrates I crossed at its flood. Against Dabigu, a fortress of Hatti, together with the cities of its neighborhood, and (against) the rest of the cities of all of (those) countries, I advanced, in my second campaign. I destroyed, I devastated, I burned (them) with fire. I received the tribute of all the kings who (live) on the other side of the Euphrates. My might and power I established over all lands.

Year 3

635. [In my third year of reign, Ahûni⌝, son of Adini, [took fright] before my [terrible] weapons. He left Til-Barsip, his royal city.

(*End of Col. I. Cols. II and III are gone.*)

Year 15

(*Rev.*) (*Col. IV*) . . . . I slew; their spoil I carried off.

636. From Ennam [I departed]. Up the Euphrates, over against Milid, [I advanced]. The tribute of Lalli, the Milidian, [silver, gold⌝, lead and copper, I received. My royal image I made and set it up by the Euphrates.

[1] *Written,* Bur-sa-ip.

Year 16

637. [In the sixteenth] year of my reign I departed from Arbela. Mount ⌜Kullar] I crossed. In the land of Zamua, (which) lay inside, the city of . . . . . I seized.[1] From Zamua, which (lay) inside, as far as the land of ⌜Munna I advanced⌝. From Munna to the land of ⌜Allabria I marched]. Adira(?), the royal city of Ianzi, the Allabrian, the beautiful golden door-leaves of his ⌜palace⌝, [the treasures] of his palace, in large number, I carried off. From Allabria [I departed . . . . .] Parzua. From Parzua as far as the city of . . . . [from Sabiddâni⌝ to the city of ⌜Hamban⌝ I burned with fire. The brilliance of my majesty(?) I poured [over] them. Marduk-mudammik, king of [Namri], trusted in the numbers of his hosts and rode forth against me with his cavalry and (foot) soldiers to offer battle and fight. By the river Namrite (*or*, river of Namri), in front of me he drew up the battle line. I defeated him, I seized his cavalry. Marduk-mudammik, king of Namri, became frightened before my terrible weapons; the cities of Shumurzu, Bît-⌜Adad⌝, Niku, of the land of Tukliash, his strong, walled cities, he deserted and fled (*lit.*, went up) to save his life. I made a raid upon his palaces. His gods, his goods, his property, the valuables of his palaces, his horses, broken to the yoke, in countless number, I carried off. The tribute of Parû, of Ellipi, in the pass of Tukliash I received. The chilling terror of my weapons, the brilliance of my majesty [overwhelmed him . . .] . . . . . .

Year 15

638. 3. (No. 114) . . . . . by the Euphrates, I devastated, I plundered . . . . . of the Euphrates . . . . . of Assur therein I set up. . . . . I . . . . . I received from him. My royal image . . . . I set up. . . . . On my return . . . . . I marched against Suhni

[1] The name of the city ended in *-tu* (cf. *KAH*, II, No. 114).

. . . . . together with the cities of their neighborhood, I captured, ... their spoil I carried off. From Suhni I departed. To . . . . . I drew near . . . . . large cities . . . . . many of their warriors I slew. From . . . . . I departed. To . . . . . I drew near. The tribute of [Lalli, the Milidian], silver, gold and lead [I received]. [My royal image I made and] I set it up by the Euphrates.

Year 16

639. [In my sixteenth year of reign I departed from Arbela.] . . . . . Mount Kullar . . . . . the city of —tu I seized . . . . . I advanced . . . . . Adira, the royal city of Ianzi, the Allabrian, ... of his palace, in large numbers . . . . . I carried off. Parzu . . . . . fire . . . . . his . . . . . .

B. FROM CALAH

640. On two large bull-colossi, from the center of the mound at Nimrûd, we have slightly varying copies of a version of Shalmaneser's annals which ended with the eighteenth year (text published in Layard, *Inscriptions*, Plates 12 f. and 46 f.). See also Delitzsch, *BA*, VI, 144 f., whose numbering of the lines is here followed.

641. Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, etc.

(*The text continues in the words of the Monolith Inscription, § 596, with the following variants:*)

1. the four regions feel themselves threatened, the cities are shaken;

2. son of Assur-nâsir-pal, exalted prince (whose priesthood) etc.

3. (*After last words of § 597:*) Conqueror from the upper sea and the lower sea of Nairî, and the great sea of the setting sun, as far as Mount Amanus (Hamani),—the Hittite-land to its farthest border I brought under my sway. From the source of the Tigris to the source of the Euphrates my hands con-

quered. From Enzite to Suhni, from Suhni to Melidi, from Melidi to Daiaeni, from Daiaeni to Arsashkun, from Arsashkun to Gilzani, from Gilzani to Hubushkia, from the land of Namri to the sea of Kaldu, which they call Bitter Sea, I overwhelmed (all lands, so that they were) like a tell left by the flood.

642. Traces of the annals of the third year of the reign are left (cf. *KAH*, II, 113 [Col. I, 29 f.] and 115).

Year 4 (ll. 60–66)

643. In my fourth year of reign in the month . . . . . [from Nineveh I departed. The Euphrates I crossed at its flood]. I pursued [Ahuni, son of Adini], Shîtamrat, a mountain [peak on the bank of the Euphrates he made into his stronghold. That mountain] peak I stormed, I captured. [Ahuni, together with his gods, his chariots, his horses, his sons, his daughters (and) his army I carried off, to my city Assur I brought them.]

644. [In that year] I departed from the city(?), crossed Mount Kullar [and marched against Zamua. The cities of Nikdime (and) Nikdiara] I captured. The rest of his troops [cast themselves upon the sea in wicker boats]. I followed after them, slew many of them in a sea [battle, and with their blood I dyed the sea like wool.]

Year 5 (ll. 66–67)

645. [In my fifth year of reign I went up against] Mount Kashiari, 11 mighty cities I captured. [Anhiti, the Shuprean, I shut up in his city. I received his many gifts] from him.

Year 6 (ll. 67–75)

646. In my sixth year of reign I departed from Nineveh, I drew near to the cities on the banks of the Balih River. Before my powerful weapons, [the land] was afraid and killed Giammu, [the ruler of their city. Into] Til-mâr-ahi I entered

That city I seized for myself. From the side of the Balih I departed. The [Euphrates I crossed at its flood. The tribute] of the kings of the land of Hatti I received. From Hatti I departed. To Halman (Aleppo) I drew near. [I offered sacrifices before Adad] of Halman.

647. From Halman I departed, to the city of Karkar I drew near. Hadad-ezer of Aram (Syria), Irhuleni of Hamath, together with 12 kings of the seacoast, trusted in each other's might and marched forth against me, offering battle and combat. I fought with them. 25,000 of their warriors I slew with the sword. Their chariots, their cavalry, their weapons of war, I took from them. To save their lives they fled (*lit.*, went up). I mounted boats and went into the sea.

Year 7 (ll. 75–78)

648. In my seventh year of reign I marched against the cities of Habini of the city of Til-abni. Til-abni, his stronghold, together with the cities of its environs, I captured, with fire I burned (them). From Til-abni I departed, to the head of the Tigris, the place where the waters came forth,[1] I marched. I offered sacrifices. The cities which were not submissive to Assur I cut down with the sword. The tribute of the Nairî-(lands) I received.

Year 8 (ll. 78–79)

649. In my eighth year of reign, in the time of Marduk-zâkir-shumi, king of Karduniash, Marduk-bêl-usâte, his brother, revolted against him. To take vengeance, I marched forth and captured the cities of Mê-turnat and Lahiru.

Year 9 (ll. 79–84)

650. In my ninth year of reign, in a second campaign of mine, I captured the city of Gananâte. Marduk-bêl-usâte, to save his life, fled (went up) to Halman.[2] I followed after him.

[1] *Lit.*, the place where the coming forth of the waters is located.

[2] Cf. § 666. In § 623, written Arman (cf. also § 293).

Marduk-bêl-usâte, together with the rebels[1] who were with him, I cut down with the sword. To Babylon I marched. I offered sacrifices in Babylon, Borsippa and Kutha. I went down to Kaldu (Chaldea). Their cities I captured. To the sea which they call Marratu (Bitter Sea) I marched. The tribute of Adini, son of Dakuri, of Mushallim-Marduk, son of Ukani,—silver, gold, maple-wood, (and) ivory I received in Babylon.

Year 10 (ll. 84–89)

651. In my tenth year of reign I crossed the Euphrates the eighth time. The cities of Sangar of Carchemish, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. From the cities of the Carchemisian I departed, to the cities of Arame I drew near. Arnê, his royal city, I captured. Together with 100 cities of its neighborhood, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned (it) with fire. I slew their inhabitants, I carried off their spoil.

652. At that time Hadad-ezer of Aram (Syria), Irhuleni of Hamath, together with 12 kings of the seacoast, trusted in each other's might and advanced against me, offering battle and combat. I fought with them, I defeated them. Their chariots, their cavalry, their weapons of war, I took from them. To save their lives they fled.

Year 11 (ll. 90–96)

653. In my eleventh year of reign I departed from Nineveh. The ninth time I crossed the Euphrates at its flood. 97 cities of Sangar I captured. 100 cities of Arame I captured, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. I kept to the side of Mount Amanus, crossed Mount Iaraku, and descended against the cities of Hamath. The city of Ashtamaku, together with 99 (smaller) cities I captured, their inhabitants I slew, their spoil I carried off.

[1] *Lit.*, sinners.

654. At that time Hadad-ezer of Aram (Syria), Irhuleni of Hamath, together with 12 kings of the seacoast, trusted in each other's might and advanced against me, offering battle and combat. I fought with them, I defeated them. 10,000 of their warriors I slew with the sword. Their chariots, their cavalry, their weapons of war I took from them.

655. On my return march, I captured Apparazu, the stronghold of Arame. At that time I received the tribute of Kalparundi of Hattina,—silver, gold, lead, horses, cattle, sheep, (woolen) garments, linen-garments. I ascended Mount Amanus and cut cedar logs.

Year 12 (ll. 96–98)

656. In my twelfth year of reign I departed from Nineveh, I crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time. I marched against the land of Pakarahubuni. The inhabitants ran away and betook themselves to the steep mountain. I stormed the mountain peak, captured it and slew their people. Their booty, their goods, I brought down out of the mountain.

Year 13 (ll. 98–99)

657. In my thirteenth year of reign, I entered the pass of the city of Ishtarâte. I marched against the land of Iâtu. Iâtu I captured in its entirety, its inhabitants I slew, their booty I carried off in immeasurable (quantities).

Year 14 (ll. 99–102)

658. In my fourteenth year of reign I mustered (the people) of the whole wide land, in countless numbers. With 120,000 of my soldiers I crossed the Euphrates at its flood.

659. At that time Hadad-ezer of Aram (Syria), Irhuleni of Hamath, together with 12 kings of the seacoast, the upper and the lower, mustered their numerous armies, of countless numbers, (and) advanced against me. I battled with them. I defeated them. Their chariots, their cavalry, I destroyed,

their weapons of war I took from them. To save their lives they fled.

Year 15 (ll. 102–67)

660. In my fifteenth year of reign I marched against the land of Nairî. At the sources of the Tigris I cut an image of my royal self in the cliffs of the mountain, by the (place where the water) breaks forth. I wrote thereon the glory of my might, the triumphs (*lit.*, ways, issues) of my power.

661. Into the pass of the land of Tunibuni I entered. The cities of Arame of Urartu, as far as the source of the Euphrates, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

662. To the source of the Euphrates I advanced. I offered sacrifices to my gods. The weapons of Assur I washed therein. Asia, king of Daianu, laid hold of my feet. Tribute and tax I received from him. My royal image I fashioned and set up in the midst of his city.

Year 18 (ll. 41–52)

663. In my eighteenth year of reign[1] I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Aram (Syria) trusted in the masses of his troops. He mustered his troops in great numbers. Mount Saniru, a mountain peak which is in front of Mount Lebanon, he made his stronghold. I fought with him, I defeated him. 16,000 of his warriors I slew with the sword. 1,131 of his chariots, 470 of his cavalry, together with his camp, I took from him.

C. ADDITIONAL FRAGMENTS FROM ASSUR

664. Three more fragments of Shalmaneser's annals, found at Assur (Kalat Sherkat), are here given. The first (*KAH*, II, No. 109) is a duplicate, with slight variants, of the Monolith Inscription (Col. I, ll. 1–7); the second (*KAH*, II, No. 110) is a duplicate, with additions, of parts of the Obelisk Inscription; the third (*ibid.*, No. 115) has the end of the third year's campaign as given in the Monolith, and the beginning of the fourth as given in the Obelisk.

[1] This paragraph stands immediately after the Introduction (§§ 641 f.).

665. 1. (No. 109) Assur, the great lord, king of all the great gods, ... Ea, king of the deep, lord of wisdom, ... Shamash, judge of heaven and earth, ... Ishtar, lady of battle and combat, ... who lordship, might . . . . . Shalmaneser, king . . . . . ruler . . . . . who finds ⌜(his ways) among the most difficult paths] . . . . . .

666. 2. (No. 110) (*Rev.*) [To] Halman he went up . . . . . I cut down with the sword. . . . . To Chaldea I went down . . . . . the tribute of Adini, son of [Dakûri]—silver, gold, maple-wood. . . . . .

Year 10

667. In my tenth year of reign for the eighth time ⌜I crossed⌝ the Euphrates . . . . . from the cities of Carchemish to . . . . . together with 100 cities of [their⌝ environs. . . . . At that time Hadad-ezer of [Aram (Damascus)] . . . . . trusted in one another's might . . . . . their defeat I accomplished. Their chariots . . . . . .

Year 11

668. In my eleventh year of reign [I departed] from Nineveh . . . . . [the cities⌝ of ⌜Arame]. . . . . .

Year 3

669. 3. (No. 115) . . . . . of Kiaki of . . . . . .

. . . . . By the pass of Kiruri, opposite (in front of) Arbela I came out.

Year 4

670. [In the eponymy of Daian-Assur], I departed from Nineveh. [I crossed the Euphrates at its flood]. I pursued Ahûni, son of Adini. ⌜Shîtamrat a mountain peak] by the

bank of the Euphrates, [which hangs like a cloud] in the sky, [he made] his stronghold. [The mountain peak] I stormed, I captured. [Ahûni, with the cities, his chariots], his horses, [his sons, his daughters and his arms] I carried off, [to Assyria I brought (them).] . . . . . .

D. ANOTHER FRAGMENT FROM CALAH(?)

671. A fragment of the annals is published in IIIR, Plate 5, No. 6. It gives the events of the eighteenth year in greater detail than our other texts.

672. In my eighteenth year of reign I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Aram trusted in the mass of his troops, mustered his armies in great numbers, made Mount Saniru, a mountain peak at the front of the Lebanons, his stronghold. I battled with him. I accomplished his overthrow. 6,000 of his warriors I slew with the sword. 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his cavalry, together with his camp, I took away from him. To save his life, he went (up into the mountain). I followed after him. In Damascus, his royal city, I shut him up. His orchards I cut down. I advanced as far as Mount Hauran. Countless cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Their spoil, without number, I carried off. To Mount Ba'li-ra'si, a head-(land) of the sea, I marched. My royal image I set up there. At that time I received the tribute of the men of Tyre, Sidon and of Jehu, son of Omri.

V. THE THRONE INSCRIPTION

673. On the throne of the black-basalt seated figure of Shalmaneser, found at Kalat Sherkat, and now in the British Museum, stands the following commemoratory inscription (text, Layard, *Inscriptions*, Plates 76 f.):

674. Shalmaneser, the mighty king, king of the universe, the king without a rival, the autocrat, the powerful one of the four regions (of the world), who shatters (the might of) the

princes of the whole (world), who has smashed all of his foes like pots. The mighty hero, the unsparing, who gives no quarter in battle; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of Assyria. Conqueror from the upper sea to the lower sea,—(the lands of) Hatti, Luhute, Adri, Labnana, Kue, Tabali, Melidi. Discoverer of the sources of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

To avenge Marduk-zâkir-shumi, I marched against Akkad. Marduk-bêl-usâte, his younger brother, I smote. Into Kutha, Babylon (and) Borsippa I entered. To the gods of the cities of Akkad I offered my sacrifices. I went down to Kaldu (Chaldea). The tribute of all of the kings of Kaldu I received.

675. At that time the great wall of my city Assur, and its outer wall, which the kings, my fathers, who lived before my time, had built aforetime,—those walls had become ruinous and old. From the Metal-Workers' (*Gurgurri*) Gate up to the Tigris, I took the two of them for my first allotment(?). Their site(s) I cleared. To their foundations I went down. Upon a base (*lit.*, structure) of great (blocks) of mountain stone I completely (re)built them from their foundations to their top. The steles of the kings, my fathers, I returned to their places.

676. At that time I made a new (statue) of the god Kidudu, the guardian of the wall,—he had perished with that wall.

677. May (some) future prince restore the ruins of the walls. My inscription (inscribed name) let him return to its place. (Then) Assur will hear his prayers.

The name of the great wall is *Sha-melammu-shu-mâta-katmu* ("Whose Splendor Covers the Land"). The name of the outer wall is *Munirriti-kibrâte* ("Oppressor of the Four Regions"). Ulâ is guardian of his city. Kidudu is guardian of his wall.

678. The name of the Metal-Workers' Gate of the great wall, the entrance of all lands, is *Sânikat-malkê* ("Subduer of Princes"),—(the name) Metal-Workers' Gate is preferred by its people (artisans). The gate of the entrance of the king, (by) the *mushlal*,[1] (is called) *Musharshidat-arattê* ("She Who Firmly Establishes the Throne"). The gate of the temple towers (is called) *Assur-mukannish-shapsûte* ("Assur Is Subduer of the Proud"). The Assur-gate (is called) *Banat-*⌜*Lamassu-sharri*⌝ ("The King's Guardian Deity Shines"). The gate of the court(?) (is called) *Shamash-nîr-multarhi* ("Shamash Is Destroyer of the Arrogant"). The gate of [Shamash] (is called) *Râsinat-kurunu-ilâni* ("Wine-pourer of the Gods"). The gate of the river landing(?) (is called) *Ikkib-sha-la-mâgari* ("Merciless Punishment"). The gate of *tisirri* . . . . . .[2]

VI. THE STATUE INSCRIPTION

679. The Berlin statue of Shalmaneser also came from Assur (Kalat-Sherkat) (text published in *KAH*, I, No. 30).

680. Shalmaneser, the great king, the mighty king, king of all the four regions (of the world), the powerful, the mighty rival of the princes of the whole earth (universe), the great ones, the kings; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of Assyria; conqueror of Enzi, Gilzânu (and) ⌜Hubushkia⌝, ⌜Urartu⌝,—their overthrow I brought about and like fire I burst (came) upon them. Ahuni, son of Adini, together with his gods, his armies, his land, his household goods (*lit.*, the property of his house), ⌜I snatched away from him⌝ for the people of my land.

681. At that time I defeated Hadad-ezer of Aram (Syria) together with 12 princes, his allies, 29(?)000 warriors, his fighters, I brought low like *shubi*. The rest of his armies I cast

[1] See Index to Vol. II. [2] Cf. list of Assur gates in *KAV*, No. 42, III, 21 f.

(*lit.*, poured) into the Orontes River. To save their lives they went up (into the mountain). Hadad-ezer died. Hazael, the son of a nobody, seized the throne, mustered his large army and came out against me, offering battle and fight. I battled with him, his defeat I brought about. The wall of his camp I seized from him. To save his life he went up (into the mountain). As far as Damascus, his royal city, I advanced. (*Left Hip*) His orchards [I cut down] . . . . . [for] Anu and ⌜Adad⌝ . . . . . pacification . . . . . I received . . .

682. (*Back*) A second time I marched against Namri. Ianzû (*written*, Sianzû), king of Namri, together with his gods, the spoil of his land, the property of his palace, I carried away to my city Assur. To Mount Tunni (Taurus), the silver mountain, (and) Mount Mulî, the marble mountain, I went up. The image of my valor I set up between them. Immeasurable quantities of marble I carried away. Against Kûe (and) Tabalu I marched. Their lands I smote, to mounds and ruins I turned (them). Katî, the wicked enemy (*written as plural*), I shut up in the chief city of his kingdom. The (terrifying) splendor of my sovereignty overcame him and he brought his daughter, with her dowry, to Kalhu (Calah), and seized my feet.

683. At that time I rebuilt the walls of my city Assur from their foundations to their summits. I made an image of my royal self and set it up in the Metal-Workers' Gate. The name of the great wall was *Sha-melammu-shu-mâta-katmu* ("Whose Splendor Covers the Land"), the name of the outer wall, *Munirriti-kibrâti* ("Oppressor of the Four Regions").

VII. INSCRIPTIONS AT THE SOURCE OF THE TIGRIS

684. Shalmaneser's inscriptions at the source of the Tigris have been edited by Lehman-Haupt (*Materialien*, Nos. 20 f. [pp. 31 f.]).

685. 1. Shalmaneser, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of all the great peo-

ples, who with the aid of Shamash (and) Adad, the gods, his helpers, marched forth in might and brought under his [sway (hand)] mighty mountain (regions) from the rising sun to the setting sun; the powerful, unsparing king, who advanced in pursuit of his enemies and trampled down victoriously streams and difficult mountains, (so that they were) like a ruin (*tell*) left by the flood; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, king of Assyria, conqueror from the sea of the land of ⌜Nairî to the Great Sea of the [setting] sun.

686. The land of Hatti to its farthest border, the land of ⌜Melidi⌝, the lands of Daiani (and) Suhme, Arzashkun, the royal city of ⌜Arame of Urartu⌝, the lands of Gilzanu (and) Hubushkia, from the source of the Tigris to the source of Euphrates, from the sea of the land of Zamua, which is on the inside, to the sea of the land of Kaldu, I brought in submission [to my feet]. To ⌜Babylon⌝ I marched. I offered sacrifices (there) and went down to the land of Kaldu. Their cities I captured, their tribute I received. Hadad-ezer of Aram (Syria), Irhulini of Hamath, together with 15 cities of the shore of the sea, advanced [against me]. For the fourth time I fought with them, I brought about their overthrow. [Their chariots, their cavalry I destroyed⌝; their battle equipment [I took away from them. To save their lives they fled (*lit.*, went up).]

687. 2. To Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad (and) Ishtar, the great gods, who love my kingship, who make great my name: Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Assur-nâsir-pal, [king of Assyria], (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, king of Assyria; conqueror [from] the sea of the land of Nairî to the [Great Sea] of the setting sun.

688. The Hittite-land, in its entirety I conquered and . . . . . Into the passes of the land of Enzite [I entered], the lands of Suhme, Daiani (and) Urartu, in its entirety, I

conquered. Against Gilzanu I advanced. The tribute of the people of Gilzanu I received. For the third time I marched against the land of Nairî. At the source of Tigris I wrote my name.

689. 3. Shalmaneser, the great king, the [mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of all of the great peoples, the prince], the priest of Assur, (who) with the aid of Shamash (and) Adad, the ⌜gods his helpers, marched forth in might and brought under his sway] mighty mountain (regions) from the rising [sun to the setting sun, the powerful], the unsparing king, who, fighting at the front (head) and ⌜advancing in pursuit of his foes], has trampled (them) down victoriously, (so that they were) like a ruin (left by) the flood.

690. Conqueror [from the sea of the land of Nairî to the Great Sea] of the setting sun, who(?) brought into submission at my feet the Hittite-land in its ⌜entirety, Melidi, Daiani, Suhme], Arazashkun, the royal city of [Arame of Urartu, the land of Gilzâni], the city of Hubushkia, the land of Urartu [from the source of Tigris to] the source of the Euphrates, from the sea of the land of Zamua, which is on the inside, to the sea of the land of Kaldu. To Babylon I marched. Sacrifices I offered in Babylon, Borsippa (and) Kutha. I went down against the land of Kaldu. Their cities I captured. The tribute of the kings who [had fled?] from Kaldu, [I received]. The terror of my armies overpowered (them), as far [as the Bitter Sea].

691. [Hadad-ezer], king of Aram (Syria) together with 12 kings of the ⌜Hittite-land⌝ [advanced against me]. For the fourth time I fought with them and I brought about their overthrow. ⌜Their chariots, their cavalry,] their battle equipment, I took away from them; to [save their lives they fled.]

692. 4. To Assur, Adad, Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar, the great kings, who love my kingship, who, for a rule of power and might(?) have made great my honored name: Shalma-

neser, king of all peoples, viceroy of Assur, the mighty king, king of Assyria; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of Assyria. Conqueror from the sea of the land of Nairî to the sea of the setting sun. The Hittite-land in its entirety I conquered. Into the passes of the land of ⌜Enzite I entered⌝. Suhme, Daiani (and) Urartu I conquered. For the second time I received tribute of Gilzânu. For the third time I marched against the land of Nairî. At the source of the Tigris I wrote my name.

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

A. FROM ASSUR

693. Before the removal to Calah, Shalmaneser was very active in the rebuilding of palace walls and temples at Assur.

Bricks from the palace, with inscriptions of varying length, published in Layard, *op. cit.*, Plate 77*B;* Lehman-Haupt, *op. cit.*, No. 18; British Museum, bricks Nos. 90,221–223; *KAH*, Nos. 104, 105,[1] 107; and a bowl fragment in the British Museum (No. 56-9-9, 142), give only the genealogy of the king.

694. 1. *KAH*, II, No. 107:

Palace of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

695. 2. *KAH*, II, No. 101, has an additional phrase at the end.

Shalmaneser, the mighty king, king of the universe, the king of Assyria; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, king of Assyria; (is) builder of (this) house.

696. 3. A somewhat different text is found in *KAH*, II, No. 108.

Shalmaneser . . . . . prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Assur-nâsir-pal, priest of Assur; son of Tukulti-Urta, priest of Assur.

[1] On this brick is drawn a rough picture of a *rêmu*, "wild-ox."

697. 4. Inscriptions recording the restoration of the city wall are given below (*KAH*, I, No. 29 [*ibid.*, II, No. 96, abbreviated form; bricks]):

Shalmaneser, king of the universe, [king of Assyria]; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of the universe, [king of Assyria]; (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, [king of Assyria]. (Brick) from the wall of Assur.

698. 5. *KAH*, II, No. 102, brick:

Shalmaneser, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; builder of the city wall of Assur.

699. 6. *KAH*, I, Nos. 26–28 (cf. Andrae, *Fest.*, p. 173.) *Zigatu*-inscriptions:

Shalmaneser (king of the universe, king of Assyria) (*v.*, priest of Assur), son of Assur-nâsir-pal, king (of the universe, king of Assyria) (*v.*, as above), son of Tukulti-Urta, king (of the universe, king of Assyria) (*v.*, as above), for his life and the peace of his city, the wall (*v.*, walls) and its gates, which aforetime, the kings who went before me, had built, had fallen to decay. I rebuilt it in its totality, from its foundation to its coping (*v.*, lip), and laid down *zigâte*.

700. Let the prince who comes after (me) renew its ruins, put back to its place the tablet with my name (*v.*, when the wall and its gates shall become weak, rebuild them), and Assur (*v.*, Ishtar), Adad and the great gods, will hear his prayers. Let him return to their places of *zigâte*. Month of *Shakinate*, the twenty-eighth day, of the eponymy of Iahalum,[1] ——— chief minister.

701. 7. *KAH*, II, No. 97, *zigatu*-inscription:

Shalmaneser, prefect of Assur; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, prefect of Assur; grandson of Tukulti-Urta, prefect of Assur; for his life, (for) the welfare of his city.

[1] Twenty-sixth year.

702. The walls of its gates, which aforetime the kings who went before me had built, had fallen to decay. Its ruins from its foundation to its top (lip) I repaired. I set up (my) *zigatu*. Let (some) future prince, when the wall of that gate shall fall to ruins, (re)build it. (Then) Assur and Adad will hear his prayers. Let him restore (my) *zigâti* to their places.

703. 8. *KAH*, II, No. 100, alabaster slab:

Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, king of Assyria. Booty of the great sea of Amurru, of the setting sun, and of the sea of Chaldea, which they call the Bitter Sea, I got into my possession. When the former wall of my city of Assur, which Tukulti-Urta, son of Shalmaneser, had built aforetime, fell to decay, I cleared away its ruins, I reached its foundation. From its foundation walls to its top I rebuilt, I completed it. I made it more beautiful than it was before. I made it splendid. I set up my memorial stele and my cylinder (*temen*).

704. Let (some) future prince restore its ruins, return my inscription to its place. (Then) Assur will hear his prayers.

705. The name of the outer wall (*shalhu*) is "Destroyer of the (Four) Regions."

706. 9. Unpublished inscription on a gold tablet in the collections of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago:

Shalmaneser, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Assur-nâsir-pal, priest of Assur, (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, priest of Assur, conqueror from the upper sea to (*lit.*, and) the lower sea, even the sea of Chaldea, which they call the Bitter Sea, who marched to the Hittite-land, who brought it under his sway to its farthest border: to Babylon, Borsippa (and) Kutha I went. I offered my sacrifices.

707. When the old (*lit.*, former) wall of my city Assur, which aforetime Tukulti-Urta, son of Shalmaneser, a king who lived before me, had built aforetime, fell into ruins, I built it anew.

708. 10. Brick inscription recording the restoration of the temple of Bêlit-nipha (text in *KAH*, II, No. 98).

Palace of Shalmaneser, prefect of Enlil (Bêl) (*v.*, king of the universe); son of Assur-nâsir-pal, priest of Assur (*v.*, king of the universe); (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, priest of Assur (*v.*, king of the universe). When the temple of Bêlit-nipha, my lady, which Tukulti-Urta, my ancestor, priest of Assur, had built aforetime, fell to decay, (I), Shalmaneser, (*v.*, adds, king of Assyria), restored it.

709. 11. Brick inscription recording the making of a golden image of the god Armada (text in *KAH*, II, No. 103).

Shalmaneser, prefect of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur; son of Assur-nâsir-pal, priest of Assur; (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, priest of Assur. The (image of the) god Armada, of the temple of Assur, my lord, which had not existed before, which in the cunning of my heart I made of gold.

710. 12. Brick inscription recording repairs on the wall of the AnuAdad temple (text in *KAH*, II, No. 106).

Palace of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Assur-nâsir-pal, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, king of Assyria. (From) the retaining-wall (*kisirtu*) of the temple of Anu and Adad.

B. FROM CALAH

711. The completion of the *zigurrat* at Calah (Nimrûd) was one of Shalmaneser's building achievements. Bricks from the structure have found their way into more than one European museum. The texts vary in length, according to the fulness of the genealogy. See Layard, *Inscriptions*, Plate 78*B;* Lehman-Haupt, *Materialien*, Nos. 13–17; British Museum, Nos. 90,224–27; 98,068.

712. Shalmaneser, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Assur-nâsir-pal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, king of Assyria: (Brick belonging to) the structure of the *zigurrat* of Kalhu (Calah).

CHAPTER XIII

SHAMSHÎ-ADAD V, SAMMURAMAT, ADAD-NIRÂRI III AND ASSUR-NIRÂRI V

A. Shamshî-Adad V

I. THE MONOLITH INSCRIPTION

713. On a monolith stele from the southwest palace at Nimrûd (Calah), now in the British Museum (No. 110), is inscribed in archaic characters the record of the chief events of the early years[1] of the reign of Shamshi-Adad V (823–810 B.C.); and this record has to do chiefly with the struggles the son of Shalmaneser had in regaining the throne after the serious revolt which marked the close of the reign of his father. The text is published in IR, Plates 29–31.

The inscription on a fragment of another stele (British Museum, No. 115,020) is a duplicate of that of the monolith stele.

714. To Urta, the powerful lord, stalwart hero, exalted leader of the gods, who holds the bolt of heaven and earth, who directs all (things), the exalted (one of) the Igigi, puissant warrior, whose power is not to be withstood, first (among) the Anunnaki, the brilliant champion of the gods, who has no equal, the mighty Udgallu (the Storm-god), the exalted lord, who rides upon the storm, whose gaze, like that of Shamash, light of the gods, penetrates the (four) regions (of the world). Champion of the gods, who radiates splendor, who is full of terror, possessing all (*lit.*, perfect in) might and power (*lit.*, mighty powers), first-born of Enlil, the defense of the gods, his begetters, creature (*or*, offspring) of Esharra, conquering son, who looms large in the brilliant firmament(?) (as?) a powerful(?) weapon; offspring of Kutushar, lady of the

[1] For the events of the later years of his reign see the Eponym List with Notes (Vol. II, §§ 1195 f.).

temples (*lit.*, those) of Anu and Dagan; the utterance of whose mouth is unchangeable; the almighty, the exalted, the gigantic, the powerful (*lit.*, possessor of strength), whose limbs (members) are exceedingly strong (*lit.*, well developed); big-hearted (*lit.*, wide-hearted), (and) cunning (*lit.*, a belly of cunning); champion of the gods, the lord, who dwells in Calah, the splendid seat, the spacious place, the abode of Udgallu: Shamshi-Adad, the mighty king, the king of the universe, without a rival, guardian (shepherd) of sanctuaries, scepter-bearer of sacred places, ruler of all lands, who orders all things, leader, whose name the gods have named from of old; the holy priest, who provides (abundantly) for Esharra, without ceasing, who maintains the temple cults; who turns his thought (*lit.*, heart) to the work (to be done on) Ehar-sagkurkurra (and) the (other) temples of his land, and gives (them) his attention; son of Shalmaneser, king of the four regions (of the world), (victorious) rival of the princes of all (countries), who tramples down (all) lands; grandson of Assur-nâsir-pal, who received tribute and gifts from all the (four) regions (of the world).

715. Where Assur-danin-apli, in the time of Shalmaneser, his father, acted wickedly, bringing about sedition, rebellion (and) wicked plotting, caused the land to rise in revolt, prepared for war, brought the people of Assyria, north and south, to his side, and made bold speeches(?), brought the cities into the rebellion, and set his face to begin strife and battle, Nineveh, Adia, Shibaniba, Imgur-Bêl, Ishshibri, Bît-Irpiti(?), Shimu, Shibhinish, Udnuna, Kibshuna, Kurban, Tidu, Nabulu, Kahat, Assur, Urakka, Amat, Huzirina, Dûr-balâti, Dariga, Zaban, Lubdu, Arrapha (Arbaha), Arba-ilu, together with Amedi, Til-abnê, Hindanu, total 27 cities, along with their fortifications, which had revolted against Shalmaneser, king of the four regions (of the world), my father, and which had gone to the side of Assur-danin-apli,—

at the command of the great gods, my lords, I brought (these) into submission at my feet.

First campaign

716. In my first campaign, in which I went up against Na'iri,—tribute (consisting of) horses, broken to the yoke, I received from all of the kings of Na'iri. At that time I cast down Na'iri, to its farthest border, as with a net. The territory (*lit.*, border) of Assyria, from Paddira of the land of Na'iri to Kar-Shalmaneser, which is opposite Carchemish, from Zaddi of the border of Akkad to Enzi, (and) from Aridi to the land of Suhi,—at the command of Assur, Shamash, Adad and Ishtar, the gods, my allies, they bowed themselves at my feet, like—.

Second campaign

717. In my second campaign, Mutarris-Assur, the *Rab-shakê*, a clever, experienced soldier (*lit.*, learned in battle), a man of judgment (sense), I dispatched and sent against Na'iri with my army and camp. As far as the upper sea of the setting sun he marched. 300 cities of Sharsina (*or*, Hirsina?), son of Mektiara, 11 strong cities, together with 200 (small) cities of Ushpina, he captured. He smote their inhabitants, their spoil,—their property, their goods, their gods, their sons, their daughters, he carried off. Their cities he destroyed, he devastated and burned with fire. On his return (march) he smote the inhabitants of Sunbai. Tribute (consisting of) horses, broken to the yoke, he received from all of the kings of Na'iri.

Third campaign

718. In my third campaign I crossed the Zaban River, passed over Mount Kullar, and went up to Na'iri. The tribute of Dadî of Hubushkia, of Sharsina, son of Mekdiara, of the lands of the Sunbai, Manai, Parsuai, Taurlai, (consist-

ing of) horses, broken to the yoke, I received. The Mesai,—the terrifying splendor of Assur, my lord, overcame them. Before the terrible brilliance of my powerful arms they became frightened and forsook their cities. They took to the steep mountain(s). Three peaks which hung like clouds from the heaven, whither the bird on the wing never comes, they made into their strongholds. I pursued them. Those mountain peaks I besieged. In one day I swooped upon them like an eagle, I smote large numbers of them. Their spoil,—their property, their goods, their cattle, their asses, their flocks, horses, broken to the yoke, (Bactrian) camels with two humps, countless numbers of them, I brought down out of the mountains. 500 cities of their environs I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

719. To Gizilbunda I marched. The city of Kinaki I captured, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The *Bishbizida*-stone mountain I crossed. The tribute of Titamashka of Sasiashu, Kiara of Karsibutu, (consisting of) horses, broken to the yoke, I received. All of Gizilbunda,—the awe-inspiring splendor of my majesty and the mighty onset of my battle (-array) overwhelmed them and they forsook their many cities. Into Urash, their stronghold, they entered. That city I stormed, I captured. With the blood of their warriors I dyed the squares of their cities like wool. 6,000 of them I smote. Pirishâti, their king, together with 1,200 of his fighters, I seized alive. Their spoil,—their property, their goods, their cattle, their flocks, their horses, vessels of silver, splendid gold, and copper, in countless numbers, I carried off. (Their cities) I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The tribute of Engur of Sibaru I received. My royal image I fashioned in heroic size. The might of Assur, my lord, my glory, valor and every deed of my hand, which I had performed in Na'iri, I inscribed thereon. In Sibaru their stronghold, in the land of Gizilbundu, I set (it) up.

720. Against the land of the Matai (Medes) I marched. Before the terrible weapons of Assur and my mighty battle onslaught, which none can stop, they became frightened, they forsook their cities, they went up into the white mountain. After them I marched. 2,300 (men) of Hanisiruka, of the Matai, I smote. 140 of his cavalry I took away from him. His property, his goods, without measure, I took back (to Assyria). Sagbitu, (his) royal city, together with 1,200 of his (smaller) cities, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. On my return march, I crossed over the *Musi*-stone mountain.

721. Munsuartu, of Araziash, together with 1,070 of his warriors, I struck down with the sword. With their bodies I filled the gullies and mountain torrents. Their sons, their daughters, their property, their goods, their cattle, their flocks, the armies of my land carried off as tribute. Their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

722. At that time the tribute of Sirashme of the land of Babarura, of Amahar of the city of Harmeshandu, of Zarishu of the land of Parsanu, of Zarishu of the city of Hunduru, of Sanashu of the land of Kipabarutaku, of Ardarâ of the land of Ushtashshu, of Shumâ of the land of Kinuku, of Tâtai of the land of Gingibiru, of Bisirain of the land of Aramu, of Parushta of the land of Kibarushu, of Ashpashtatauk of the land of Uilu, of Amamash of the land of Kingishtilenzah, of Tarsihu of the land of Masiraush, of Mamanish of the land of Luksu, of Zanzar of the land of Dimamu, of Sirâshu of the land of Simguru, of Gishta of the land of Abdanu, of Adadânu of the land of Asatu, of Ursi of the land of Ginhuhtu, of Bâra of the land of Ginzinu, of Arua of the land of Kindutaush, of Kirnakush of the land of Kibrû, of Zabanu of the land of Zuzaruru, of Irtisati of the land of Gingirdu, of Barzuta of the land of Taurlu, of Shûa of the land of Nani- . . . . of Satiriai, of Artasiraru, kings of Na'iri, all of them, at the command of

Assur, Shamash (and) Adad, the gods, my allies,—tribute and gifts consisting of horses, broken to the yoke, for all time, I imposed upon them. From Mount Kullar, the great mountain, to the sea of the setting sun, like Adad, the thunderer, I thundered(?) over them. Terrifying splendor I poured out upon them.

Fourth campaign

723. In my fourth campaign, in *Simânu*, the fifteenth day, I gave command to march against Karduniash. The Zaban River I crossed. Between the cities of Zaddi and Zaban I passed through the gorge(?) of the mountain. I killed three fierce lions. Mount Ebih I traversed and besieged the city of Mê-turnat. The terrifying splendor of Assur and Marduk, the great gods, my lords, overwhelmed them. They laid hold of my feet. Those people I brought out, together with their property (and) their gods, into my (own) country I carried them and counted them among the people of my land.

724. The Turnat River I crossed in its flood. Karnê, his royal city, together with 200 cities of its environs, I destroyed. I devastated, I burned with fire. Mount Ialman I crossed. The city of Di'bina I besieged. The terrible splendor of Assur overwhelmed them. They laid hold of my feet. 3 chieftains(?), together with their people, their property (and) their goods, I carried away from that city. The cities of Datêbir (and) Izduia, which are situated at the side of the city of Gananati, together with 200 cities of their environs, I captured, 330 of them I smote. Their booty,—their property, their goods (and) their gods, I carried away. Their plantations I cut down. Their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The people who had fled before my terrible weapons, entered Kiribti-alâni, their stronghold. That city I stormed, I took. 500 of them I smote. Their booty,—their property, their goods, their gods, their cattle, their flocks, I

carried off. The city I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

725. All of Akkad, who before the terrible brilliance of my furious arms and my mighty battle (onslaught), which cannot be withstood, had become frightened and into Dûr-Papsukal, the royal city, which was situated in an expanse of waters, like the shoot (*or*, stalk, of a plant) in a stream, (and which) was not easily approached by my armies, they (*i.e.*, the people of Akkad) with (the inhabitants of) the 457 cities which were therein (*i.e.*, Akkad), entered. That city I captured in the (course of) my advance. 13,000 of their warriors I cut down with the sword. Their blood like the waters of a stream I caused to run through the square of their city. The corpses of their fighters I piled in heaps. 3,000 I captured alive. His royal bed, his royal couch, the treasure of his palace, the women of his palaces, his property, his gods and the whole equipment (*lit.*, everything desired) of his palace, without number, I carried away from that city. His captive warriors were given to the soldiers of my land like grasshoppers. That city I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

726. Marduk-balatsu-ikbi trusted in the multitudes of his armies and mustered (the armies of) Kaldu, Elam, Namri, Arumu, along with his numerous, his countless, troops. He advanced against me offering battle and combat. Over against (*or*, above) the Daban River, opposite Dûr-Papsukal, he drew up his battle line. With him I fought. His defeat I accomplished. 5,000 of his hordes I cut down, 2,000 I captured alive, 100 of his chariots, 200 of his cavalry, his royal tent, his camp bed, I took from him.

II. MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

727. At Kalat Sherkat (Assur) were found a number of inscribed votive pearls and a brick inscription. The text of the inscription on the pearls, which varies somewhat, according to the fulness of the genealogy, is published in *KAH*, I, Nos. 31–33.

728. 1. To Bêlit, chief of the gods, his lady, Shamshi-Adad, viceroy of Enlil, priest of Assur, son of Shalmaneser, priest of Assur, (grand)son of Assur-nâsir-pal, priest of Assur, for his life, has presented (this pearl).

729. 2. The brick inscription, *KAH*, I, No. 34, reads:

Shamshi-Adad, builder of the temple of Assur.

B. Sammuramat (Samiramis)

730. Among the memorial steles of the kings of Assyria found by Andrae at Kalat Sherkat (Assur) was one bearing the inscription of Sammuramat, the Semiramis of legend, the wife of Shamshi-Adad, and queen for five years during the minority of her son Adad-Nirâri III (cf. § 734) (text in Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, pp. 10 f.).

731. Stele of Sammuramat, queen (*lit.*, palace woman) of Shamshi-Adad, king of the universe, king of Assyria, mother of Adad-nirâri, king of the universe, king of Assyria, daughter-in-law of Shalmaneser, king of the four regions (of the world).

C. Adad-nirâri III

I. SABA'A STELE

732. Our primary source for the history of the reign of Adad-nirâri III (805–782 B.C.) is the inscription on a stele erected by one of his officers, Nergalerish, and discovered, 1905, in the desert south of the Sinjar Hills. The stele is now in the Constantinople Museum. It was published in *Reliefstele Adadniraris III, aus Saba'a und Semiramis*, by Eckhard Unger. Of particular interest to the historian was the reference to the king's accession to the throne in his fifth year. This means, of course, that his mother, the famous Semiramis, was actually ruler of Assyria for five years.

733. (To) Adad, foremost in heaven and on earth, son of Anu, the powerful warrior, the perfect, the mighty in strength, first among the Igigi, valiant (leader) of the Anunnaki, who is clothed in splendor, who rides the mighty . . . . . s, decked with terrible brilliance, who brings low the wicked with his shining whip, who hurls the thunderbolt, the

great lord, his lord; [Adad-nirâri[1], the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the king without a rival, the wonderful shepherd, the exalted viceroy (of the gods), whose thoughts are of prayer and sacrifice (*lit.*, raising of his hand and the giving of his offering), whose rule the great gods made beneficial as the food (*lit.*, plant) of life for the people of Assyria, and whose land they enlarged; son of Shamshi-Adad, the mighty king, [king of the universe, king] of Assyria, grandson of Shalmaneser, ruler of all princes, destroyer of hostile kings.

734. In (my) fifth year of reign, when I took my seat on the royal throne, in might, I mobilized (the forces of my) land, (to) the widespreading armies of Assyria I gave the order to advance against Palashtu (Palestine). The Euphrates I crossed at its flood. The ⌜widespreading, hostile] kings, who in the time of Shamshi-Adad, my father, had rebelled, and ⌜withheld their tribute⌝,—at the command of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Ishtar, the gods, my allies, [terror] overwhelmed them and they laid hold of my feet. Tribute and ⌜tax, more than that of former days], they brought to Assyria. I ⌜received it⌝.

735. [To march against Aram] I gave the command. Mari' [I shut up] in Damascus, [his royal city]. 100 talents of gold, 1,000 talents of silver . . . . . talents . . . . . I received.

736. At that time I had an image of my royal self made. The power of my might, the deeds of my hands, I inscribed thereon. In Zabanni(?) I set it up. . . .

The inscription(?) of Nergal-eresh, governor of Nimittu-Ishtar, Abku, Marê(?), Rasapu, Katni, Dûr-karpati(?), opposite Kâr-Assur-nâsir-pal, ⌜Sirku,⌝ the lands of Lakê and Hindanu, the city of Anat, the land of Suhi, and the city of . . . . . -isbat.

737. The future prince who shall remove this image

(stele) from its place, whoever shall cover it with dust or shall bring it into a house of "disease of the face(?)," who shall blot out the name of the king, my lord, or my written name, and write his own name (in their stead), may Assur, the father of the gods, curse him, may he destroy his seed, his name, in the land. May Marduk overthrow his kingdom, apportioning him (counting out for him) hands and eyes that are "bound." May Shamash, judge of heaven and earth, bring darkness into his land, ... together. May Adad, foremost in heaven and on earth, destroy his name, may he come on like a locust swarm and bring low his land.

II. THE NIMRÛD SLAB INSCRIPTIONS

738. 1. On the upper portion of a slab found at Nimrûd (Calah) is engraved the better-known inscription of this king. The text was published in IR, Plate 35, No. 1. According to the Index to the *Kouyunjik Catalogue*, this slab is "not in Europe."

739. Palace of Adad-nirâri, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the king whom Assur, king of the Igigi, called in his youth and gave him a kingdom without a rival; whose rule (*lit.*, shepherding) he (Assur) made beneficial (*lit.*, good) as the food (plant) of life for the people of Assyria, and whose throne he firmly established; holy priest, who provides magnificently for Esharra, who is unwearied, who upholds the cult (*lit.*, law, command) of Ekur (*or*, the temple); who went (forth) under the protection of Assur, his lord, and brought the princes of the four regions (of the world) in submission to his feet; who conquered from Mount Siluna of the east (rising sun), the lands of Saban(?), Ellipi, Harhar, Araziash, Mesu, Madai, Gizilbunda in its totality, Munna, Parsua, Allabria, Abdadana, Na'iri to its farthest border, Andiu, which lies afar off, the mountain slope(?) to its farthest border, up to the great sea of the rising sun; from above the Euphrates,—Hatti, Amurru, in its totality, Tyre, Sidon, Humrî (Omriland, Israel), Edom,

Palastu, up to the great sea of the setting sun,—I brought (these lands) in submission to my feet. Tribute and tax I imposed upon them.

740. Against Aram (Syria) I marched, Mari', king of Aram,—in Damascus, his royal city, I shut him up. The terrifying splendor of Assur, his (*prob. error for*, my) lord, overwhelmed him and he laid hold of my feet, he became my vassal (*lit.*, did my service). 2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3,000 talents of copper, 5,000 talents of iron, colored woolen and linen garments, an ivory bed, an ivory couch, inlaid and bejeweled(?), his property and his goods, in immeasurable quantity, in Damascus, his royal city, in his palace, I received.

741. The kings of Kaldu, all of them, became my vassals; tribute and tax for all time to come I imposed upon them. Babylon, Borsippa, Kutha, brought the "remnant" of Bêl, Nabû and Nergal, pure sacrifices. . . . . .

742. 2. On another slab, also from Nimrûd, we have the titles and genealogy of Adad-nirâri III. This monument is in the British Museum (No. 611). The inscription was published in IR, Plate 35, No. 3.

743. Palace of Adad-nirâri, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the king whom Assur, king of the Igigi, called in his youth and gave him (*lit.*, filled his hand with) a kingdom without a rival: from the great sea of the rising sun to the great sea of the setting sun, his hand prevailed against (conquered), and he brought under his sway, every land (*lit.*, all of everything), son of Shamshi-Adad, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the king without a rival; (grand)son of Shalmaneser, king of the four regions (of the world), who slew all of his foes and brought (them) low like a flood; (great-)grandson of Assur-nâsir-pal, the valiant hero, who increased (*lit.*, made wide) (the human) habitations; offspring of Adad-nirâri, the exalted prince to whose aid Assur, Sha-

mash, Adad and Marduk came and whose land they enlarged (made wide); descendant of Tukulti-Urta, king of Assyria, king of Sumer and Akkad; of the line of Shalmaneser, the mighty king, who enlarged Eharsagkurkurra, "the mountain of the lands"; of the lineage of Bêl-kapkapi, the former king, who lived before my day (*lit.*, me),—even before the reign (kingship) of Sulili, whose glory Assur proclaimed from of old.

III. THE INSCRIPTION ON THE NEBO STATUES

744. Two statues of the god Nabû were set up at Nimrûd by Bêl-tarsi-iluma, governor of Calah, "for the life of Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria, his lord, and Sammuramat, the queen (palace woman), his lady" and for his own life. These are Nos. 69 and 70 of the Nimrûd Central Saloon in the British Museum (text published in IR, Plate 35, No. 2).

745. To Nabû, the powerful, the exalted child of Esagila, surpassing in wisdom, the powerful prince, son of Nudimmut, whose word takes precedence, master of the arts, guardian of all heaven and earth, all knowing, whose mind is open (*lit.*, of wide ear), who holds the writing-reed, who possesses a clasping hand(?), the merciful, the approachable(?), from whom come (*lit.*, are) the beautification (enlightenment) (and) founding (of human habitations); the beloved of Enlil, lord of lords, whose might has no equal, without whom no counsel is given in heaven; the merciful, the compassionate, whose forgiveness is kindly, who dwells in Ezida which is in Calah; the great lord, his lord, for the life of Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria, his lord, and for the life of Sammuramat (Semiramis) the royal lady (*lit.*, palace woman), his lady (I), Bêl-tarsi-iluma, governor of Calah, Hamedi, Sirgana, Temeni, Ialuna, for his own life (*lit.*, life of his soul), length of days, many years, the peace of his house and his people, for deliverance from sickness, have made and presented (this statue).

O man, who shall come after (me), on Nabû wait. Do not trust in another god.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS

746. 1. An inscribed brick from Nebi Yunus (Nineveh) had this text (published in IR, Plate 35, No. 4):

Adad-nirâri, prefect of Enlil, king of Assyria, son of Shamshi-Adad, prefect of Enlil, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Shalmaneser, prefect of Enlil.

747. 2. At Kalat Sherkat (Assur) were found the upper left corner of a tablet (text, *KAH*, II, No. 116) and some votive pearls (text, *ibid.*, I, Nos. 35 and 36).

a) Adad-nirâri . . . . . son of Shamshi-Adad . . . . . (grand)son of Shalmaneser . . . . . .

10 talents, 15 minas . . . . . impost(?) . . . . . .

(*Rev.*) Month . . . . . .

Eponymy . . of . . . . . .

748. *b*) To Belit, chief of the gods, his lady, Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria, son of Shamshi-Adad, king of Assyria, for his life has presented (this pearl).

D. ASSUR-NIRÂRI V

TREATY WITH MATI'-ILU

749. In the second year of Assur-nirâri's reign (753–746 B.C.) there was a campaign against Arpad. A much-discussed Assyrian document was the result, namely, the treaty with Mati'-ilu, the native king. The text, in transliteration and translation, was given by Peiser (*MDVG*, 1898, pt. 6). The tablet is Rm. 274 and 120, of the British Museum collections.

750. . . . . . ⌜Mati'-ilu⌝ . . . . . ⌜his sons⌝, his daughters, ⌜his nobles, the people of his land], all that ⌜sin⌝ (*i.e.*, rebel) . . . . . his land, all the . . . . . the ground, all the brick(s) in . . . . . for the standing of his sons, [his] daughters, [his nobles and] ⌜the people⌝ of his land. Let perish Mati'-ilu, [his sons], his ⌜daughters⌝, his nobles, the people of his land, like cattle . . . . . are they, together with the people of his land; their stripped-off skins . . . . . .

751. This ram is not being brought up from its flock(?) for sacrifice, not for a *karitu* is he being brought up, not for a *kinitu* is he being ⌜brought up⌝, not for a sick man is he being brought up, not to be slaughtered for . . . . . (but) for the treaty (*lit.*, oath) which Assur-nirâri, king of [Assyria] made ⌜with⌝ Mati'-ilu, is he ⌜being brought up].

752. If Mati'-ilu [sins] against this treaty (*lit.*, oath of these words), (then) as this ram is being brought up from its flock, (a ram) which shall not return to its flock, shall not (again) go at the head of its flock, so, on (his) part, shall Mati'-ilu, together with his sons, ⌜his daughters⌝, [his nobles], the people of his land, be brought up from his land, to his land he shall not return, before his land [he shall not go].

753. This head is not the head of the ram, the head of Mati'-ilu [is it], the head of his sons, of his nobles, of the people of his land. If Mati'-ilu [sins] against this treaty, as ⌜my hand splits] the head of this ram [whose] tooth is "laid" in his mouth, (so) may my hand split the head of Mati'-ilu, [the tooth in his mouth, in . . [. . . . . may it lie(?).

754. This limb is not a limb of the ram, it is the limb of Mati'-ilu, the limb of ⌜his sons⌝, [of his nobles], of the people of his land, is it. If Mati'-ilu sins against these [oaths], as the limb [of this ram] is torn off, [so may the limb of Mati'-ilu, the limb of his] sons, [his nobles, of the people of his land] be torn off. . . . . .

(*The middle column is totally gone and of the right column only a few signs are left.*)[1]

755. (*Rev. right*) (When) at the command of Assur-nirâri, king of Assyria, against his enemy they (the king's armies) march forth, Mati'-ilu, together with his nobles, his forces,

[1] Since Peiser's publication of the transliterated text, K 15272 has been joined to the tablet, restoring parts of nine lines (11–19) to the right column. Ll. 15 f. read: "If against his city . . . . . If (Mati'-ilu) is not faithful to Assur-nirâri, if his heart is not 'set on' Assur-nirâri, king of Assyria. . . . . thy sons, the people of thy land. . . . . ."

[shall march forth. If,] with his whole heart, he does not go forth, does not march, may Sin, the great god, who dwells in Harran, upon Mati'-ilu, [his sons], his nobles (and) the people of his land, [cast] disease, like a garment, may they lie stretched out on the ground (plain), may he have no mercy upon them. May there be no [increase] of cattle, asses, sheep (or) horses in his land. May Adad, first in heaven and on earth, through want, famine and hunger, of Mati'-ilu, his land, the people of his land, make an end, and may they eat the flesh of their sons and their daughters, as the flesh of rams and ewes may it seem good to them. May they be deprived of the vegetation (? *lit.*, green) of Adad, may rain be appointed for their distress. May dust be their food, the outside of the wall their protection(?), the urine of asses their drink, rags (? *niaru*) their dress. In ——— may their bed be spread.

756. If Mati'-ilu, his sons (or) his nobles,—whichever one violates (sins against) the oath of Assur-nirâri, king of Assyria, may his plowman not raise the cry of jubilation in the field. The plant of the field,—verily, may it not spring up, ... in . . . . . [wells] may he not dig. The water of the springs,—may it not gush forth. . . . . .

757. (*Rev. middle*) If (for) the remembrance of anyone, but not (for thy remembrance, if (for) the life of anyone, but not (for) thy life, ... (if) sacrifices are prepared for the life of thyself, thy sons (or) thy nobles, but not for the life of Assur-nirâri, his sons and his nobles, may Assur, father of the gods, who bestows rulership (*lit.*, kingship), turn thy land into desert (steppe), thy people to ———, thy cities to mounds, thy houses to ruins.

758. If Mati'-ilu violates these oaths of Assur-nirâri, king of Assyria, may Mati'-ilu be a harlot, the (*i.e.*, his) men be women. Like the harlot in the square(s) of his city may

they receive ⌜their support⌝; one land shall drive them to the other. As for ⌜Mati'-ilu's⌝ wife,—may she, [like] the mule, [be useless] for bearing children. [May Ishtar(?) . . . . . .] . . . of the men, lady of the women, seize their "bow" (*i.e.*, make them weak); their . . . . . may she(?) establish, may [their wailing] be bitter (as they cry): "Woe upon us(?), against the oath of Assur-nirâri, king of [Assyria], have we sinned."

759. If Mati'-ilu . . . . . Assur-nirâri, king of Assyria . . . . . want . . . . . the land, ... let him destroy(?) . . . . . a thousand houses for one, let him restore, a thousand *barkunu* garments for one *barkinu*-garment let him restore. In his city may (but) one man be left for the worship (of God).

760. Assur, king of heaven and earth, thou hast brought, thou hast counted;[1] Anum (and) Antum, *do.;* Enlil (and) Ninlil, *do.;* Ea (and) Damkîna, *do.;* Sin (and) Ningal, *do.;* Shamash (and) Aia, *do.;* Adad (and) Shala, *do.;* Marduk (and) Sarpanîtum, *do.;* Nabû (and) Tashmêtum, *do.;* Urta(*MASH*) (and) Gula(*ME*), *do.;* Urash(*IB*) (and) Bêlit-ekallim, *do.;* Zamama (and) Bau, *do.;* Nergal (and) Laz (*do.*); Daiânu(*DI-KUD*) (and) Ningirsu, *do.;* Humbabaia (*HUM-HUM-MU*) (and) Ishum, *do.;* Girra(? *GISH-BAR*) (and) Nusku, *do.;* Ishtar, lady of Nineveh, *do.;* Ishtar, lady of Arbela, *do.;* Adad of the city of Kurban, *do.;* Adad of the city of Kallab, *do.; IGI-DU*, who goes before, *do.; IGI-BI*, of might, *do.;* Dagan of the land of Suruna, *do.;* . . . . . (and) ⌜Shukamuna⌝, *do.;* Ishtar . . . . . of the snare(?), *do.;* Adad, ... and Ramânu, *do.;* of the city of . . . . . Dagan of . . . . . .

[1] These are the names of the deities called as witnesses to the treaty.

CHAPTER XIV

TIGLATH-PILESER III AND SHALMANESER V

A. Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III

I. THE ANNALS

761. The annals of Tiglath-pileser (745–727 B.C.) were engraved upon the slabs of the rebuilt central palace at Calah (Nimrûd). These slabs were later removed by Esarhaddon to be used in his southwest palace of the same city. As a result of the removal and retrimming of the stone, the annals have come down to us in a fragmentary state. Without the aid of the Eponym List with Notes it would have been impossible to arrange the fragments in their chronological order, and, even so, future discoveries are likely to show that the arrangement now generally accepted is wrong. For a detailed study Anspacher, *Tiglath-Pileser III*, should be consulted. The text here followed is that of Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers III.*

762. . . . . . the river . . . . . on rafts I crossed, all of the Arameans . . . . . x+9,000 people, x,000+500 cattle . . . . . I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The ⌜Ra'sâni-tribe of Chaldea],—the fury of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed them and they came [before me] and kissed my feet. . . . . The *Erib-bîti*-officials of the temples of Esagila, Ezida (and) [Emeslam brought] to me the "remnant"[1] of Bêl, Nabû (and) Nergal, ... I richly adorned them and they returned to their own land. Those cities I rebuilt.

763. Above Til-Kamri, which they also ⌜call Humut], I built a city. From its foundation to its top I built, I completed it. A palace for my royal abode [I erected therein]. Kâr-Assur I called its name. The weapon of Assur, my lord, I set up therein. People of the lands my hands had conquered

[1] The exact meaning of this word in this context is uncertain. In the business documents it means "balance,"—of an account. Cf. Vol. II, § 35.

I settled in it. I [laid tribute and tax(es)] upon them; with the people of Assyria I counted them.

The *Patti-[hegalli]* canal, which from days of old had lain (in ruins) and . . . . . I cleared out (*lit.*, dug) and made the waters of abundance flow through its midst.

764. The cities of Dûr-Kurigalzu, Sippar of Shamash, ... [Kissik,] the (tribes of) Nakri and Tanê, the city of Kalain, the river Shumandashi, the city of [Pasitu] of the Dunani, the land of Kirbutu . . . . . the [Adilê] (tribe), the land of Bûdu, the city of Pahhaz, the land of Kin-Nippur,—cities of Karduniash, as far as the Uknû-River, [on the shore of the lower sea], I brought under my sway. Within the Assyrian border I brought them. My official I [set over them as governor]. From their lambs (and) kids . . . . . [I took]. 240 lambs I dedicated as a gift to Assur, my lord. [The people of those towns], whom I carried off, ... [in the province of the Turtan], the province of the major-domo (lord high chamberlain), the province of the *Rab-bi-[lub* (chief butler), the province] of the land of Barhazia(?), the province of the land of Mazamua, ... I settled them, I brought them into agreement (with one another) and counted them with the people of Assyria. The yoke of Assur, my lord, like that of the Assyrian(s), [I laid upon them]. The ruined towns within the area of my land, which had fallen into decay [in the time of the kings, my fathers], I built anew, and Assyria . . . . . .

765. . . . . . I built a city. A palace for my royal abode [I erected therein. Dûr-Tukulti-apal-Esharra] I called its name. The weapon of Assur, my lord, [I set up therein. People of the lands my hands had conquered I settled in it]. I counted them with the Assyrian people. An image [of my majesty I set up therein, as symbol of the power and might] which I had established over the nations in the name of Assur, my lord. . . . . 10 talents of gold, heavy (standard),

1,000 talents of silver, ... I received as its tribute.

Year 2

766. In my second year of reign, Assur, my ⌜lord, was my help and against the lands of Namri], Bît-Zatti, Bît-Abdadani, Bît-Sangi, [Bît-Kapsi, Bît-Tazzakki, I marched]. . . . . the progress of] my campaign he saw and Nikur, his stronghold he forsook . . . . . [as Adad sends his rain] (so) I showered [my fury upon them]. The people of Nikur, the weapons . . . . . his horses and mules, his cattle [(and) his sheep I carried off]. . . . . The cities of Sassiashu, Tutashdi, ... the cities of Kushianash, Harshu, Shanashtiku, Kishkitara, Harshai, Aiubak, ... [To] . . . , a mountain of the Halihadri (range), the high(est) summit of the mountain they betook (themselves). I followed after them and defeated them . . . . . who had entered the gorges of the mountain, I burned with fire. The city of Ushari of Bît-Zatti I besieged, I captured. Kakî, [their king I captured]. The city of Kitpattia of Bît-Abdadani, which Tunaku had seized, I besieged, I captured, I despoiled . . . . . Nikur, together with the cities of its environs, I rebuilt. People of the lands my hands had conquered I settled therein. [My official I set over them as governor.[1] The lands of Bît-Kapsi, Bît-Sangi, Bît-Tazzakki, I overwhelmed as (with) a net. Large numbers of them I slew . . . . . ⌜I hung on stakes]. Of the rest of their fighters I cut off the fingers and let them go back into their land. [Their horses, their mules], their (Bactrian) camels, their cattle and their sheep (and) workmen without number, I carried away. Mitâki, [king of . . . . . .] entered the city of Urshanika. Urshanika and Kianpal, I captured. Him, his wife, his sons, his daughters, [his gods, I carried off]. Those [cities], to-

gether with the cities of their environs, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

767. Battânu, son of Kapsi, ... submitted and carried the head-pad,—that his province might not be devastated. The city of Karkarihundir I left to him. [Tribute and tax I imposed upon him¹. The city of Erinziashu which had revolted against Bisihadir of Kishisu, I captured, its booty I carried off.

768. Ramateia of Arazi . . . . . That one escaped like a mouse through a hole, and no one ever saw him (*lit.*, his place) again. Horses, cattle, sheep, lapis lazuli, the best of the mountain(s). . . . . [To the great gods¹, my lords, I sacrificed. Tunî of Sumurzu . . . . . I captured. His warriors I hung on stakes . . . . . Sumurzu, Bît-Hamban, I brought within the Assyrian border. [People of the lands my hands had conquered therein] I settled. My official I set over them as governor . . . . . to Assur, my lord, I dedicated. The city of Kizauti, which is in . . . . . I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Of the city chieftains who were not submissive . . . . . 300 talents of lapis lazuli, 500 talents of copper *nenzu* . . . . . as tribute of Mannu-kîma-sabê, son of Abdadani . . . . . Mikî of Halpi, Uzakku of . . . . . the lands of Ariarma, Tar-lugalê, ⌜Saksukni,¹ . . . . . which [they call a fortress] of the Babylonian(s), ...

Year 3

769. [In my third] year of reign, [Sardurri of Urartu, revolted against me, ... with] Mati'-ilu . . . . . [Sulumal of Melid¹ (Melitene), Tarhulara of ⌜Gurgum¹, [Kushtashpi of Kummuhu¹, [trusted] in each others might. . . . . (Trusting) in the might and power of Assur, my lord, I fought with them, ... large numbers of

them I slew. The gorges and precipices of the mountains I filled with [their bodies]. Their chariots . . . . . their . . . . . without number, I carried away from that slaughter and of Sardurri. . . . . I seized with my own hands. 72,950 people, together with their possessions, from . . . . . [Sardurri[1], to save his life, escaped at night and was seen no more . . . . . up to the bridge across the Euphrates, the boundary of his land, I pursued him. And his bed . . . . . his royal coach, the seal-cylinder, (hung) about his neck, together with [his] rings . . . . . his royal chariot, ... their(?) . . . . . his . . . . . much, without number, his(?) chariots, horses, mules, ... his workmen, without number, I carried away. The "house of the plain," [his royal] tent, ... large quantities of his . . . . . I burned in the midst of his camp . . . . . his . . . . . his bed, to Ishtar, queen of . . . . .

the palace of Tutamû, I set up my throne . . . . . x talents of gold, heavy standard, 300 talents of silver, heavy standard, 100 talents of copper . . . . . *nenzu*, colored (woolen) garments, and linen ones, all kinds of herbs, the goods of his palace. . . . . Kinalia, I rebuilt. Unki to its farthest border I subjugated. . . . . my official I set over them as governor . . . . . .

770. [In] the course of my campaign, I received the tribute of the kings of the seacoast (Mediterranean)] . . . . . ⌜Azariah⌝ of Judah, like . . . . . Azariah, the land of Judah . . . . . without number, reaching high to heaven and exceedingly great [on earth] . . . . . with eyes, as from heaven . . . . . by attack(s) of charging infantry, by mines . . . . . they heard of the onset of Assur's dense [masses of troops] and [their hearts] became afraid. . . . . I destroyed, I devastated, with fire I burned . . . . . which had gone over to ⌜Azariah⌝ and had strengthened him . . . . . like stumps . . . . . exceedingly difficult . . . . . was barred and was high . . . . . were situated (placed) . . . . . his egress . . . . . I had them bring . . . . . [with earthworks] I surrounded his garrisoned towns (and) against . . . . . I caused them to carry and . . . . . his great . . . . . like ⌜pots I smashed.] . . . . . rider (messenger) . . . . . Azariah . . . . . my royal palace . . . . . in . . . . . tribute like that of the [Assyrians I laid upon them] . . . . . and(?) the city of ⌜Kullani⌝. . . . . at his invitation . . . . . the cities of Usnû, Siannu, Simirra (and) —buna[1], which are on the ⌜seacoast,⌝ together with the cities (extending) up to Mount Saue, a mountain which abuts on Mount Lebanon, Mount Ba'li-

[1] Restored to Rashpuna by Rost. The fragment, K 2649, has Rashpuna, "on the shore of the lower sea." But see § 815.

sapuna, as far as Mount Amanus, the boxwood mountain, Mount Sau, in its entirety, the provinces of Kâr-Adad, the city of Hatarikka, the province of Nukudina, Mount Hasu as well as the cities which (lie) about it, the city of Arâ, the cities on both sides of them, together with the cities of their environs, Mount Sarbûa in its totality, the cities of Ashhani (and), Iadabi, Mount Iaraku, in its entirety, the cities of . . . . . ri, Ellitarbi, Zitânu, up to the city Atinni, ... the city of Bumame,—19 districts of Hamath, together with the cities of their environs, which (lie) on the shore of the sea of the setting sun, which had gone over to Azariah, in revolt (*lit.*, sin) and contempt of Assyria, I brought within the border of Assyria. My officials I set over them as governors. 30,300 people [I carried off from] their cities and placed them in the province of the city of Ku—. 1,223 people I settled in the province of the land of Ulluba.

771. The Kuru—(tribe) . . . . . I took (my) way. My warriors, the ford of the Zab, for the conquest of the Ahlamê, I . . . . . The Gurume . . . . . Kishî (of the) Arameans of the banks of the Zab(?), they slew in great numbers. They captured their cities and carried off their spoil. . . . . The Kishî (of the) Arameans came on in great numbers and drew up the battle line in front of them. They (my troops) smote the Aramean contingents(?) . . . . . to save his life he fled alone and went up (into the mountains). The stronghold of Kinia, the city of Sarragitu, ... together with the cities of their environs, they captured. 12,000 people, with their possessions, their cattle (and) their sheep, together with . . . . . they brought to Hatti (Syria) into my presence. My official, the governor of the land of the Lulumê,—the cities of Mulûgani . . . . . of Babylon, together with the cities of their environs, he captured (and) smote them. [x people, together with their possessions], they

brought to me in Hatti (Syria). My official, the governor of Na'iri,—the cities of Supurgillu, ... together with the cities of their environs, he captured, their booty he carried off. Shikilâ, the fortress commandant, ... ⌜they carried off⌝ and brought before me in Hatti (Syria).

772. 600 captives of the city of Amlate of the Damunu (tribe), 5,400 captives of the city of Dîr, I settled in the cities of Kunalia, Huzarra, Tae, Tarmanazi, Kulmadara, Hatatirra (and) Sagillu of the land of Unki, ... x captives of the Kutê and of Bît-Sangibuti, 1,200 Illileans, 6,208 Nakkabeans, Budeans, in the cities of . . . . . Simirra, Arkâ, Usnû, Siannu, which lie on the seacoast, I settled. 588 Budeans, Duneans, Ni— . . . . . 352 Bileans, 554 Banateans, 380 people of the city of Nergal-ilu-ina-mâti, 460 Sangilleans, ... x Illileans, 457 captives of the Kûteans (and) Bît-Sangibuteans, in the province of Tu'imme I settled. 555 . . . . . captives of the Kutêans and Bît-Sangibuteans, in Til-karme I settled. With the people of Assyria I counted them. Dues and service, as of the Assyrians, I laid upon them. The tribute of Kushtashpi of Kummuhu, Rasunnu (Rezin) of Aram, Menihimmu (Menahem) of Samerina (Samaria), Hirummu (Hiram) of Tyre, Sibitti-bi'li of Gubla (Gebail), Urikki of Kûe, Pisiris of Carchemish, Eni-ilu of Hamath, Panammû of Sam'al, Tarhulara of Gurgum, Sulumal of Melid, Dadi-ilu of Kaska, Uassurme of Tabal, Ushhitti of Tuna, Urballai of Tuhana, Tuhamme of Ishtunda, Urimme of Hubishna, Zabibê, queen of Arabia,—gold, silver, lead, iron, elephant's hides, ivory, colored (woolen) garments, linen garments, blue and purple wool, maple, boxwood, all kinds of precious royal treasure, fat(?) lambs, whose wool was purple in color (*lit.*, dyed), winged birds of heaven, whose wings were blue in color (*lit.*, dyed), horses, mules, cattle, sheep, camels, female camels, together with their young, I received.

Year 9

773. In my ninth year of reign, Assur, my lord, aiding me, against the lands of Bît-Kapsi, Bît-Sangibuti, Bît-Tazzakki, Madai, Bît-Zualzash, Bît-Matti, (and) Tupliash, I marched. The cities of Bît-Ishtar, Kingi-kangi, Kindigiasu, Kingi-alkasish, Kubush-Hatidish, Upushu (land), Ahsipuna, Girgirâ, Kihbazhati, together with the cities of their environs, I captured, their booty I carried off. I destroyed, I devastated, I burned (them) with fire.

774. At that time I made a pointed lance of iron, and inscribed (*lit.*, wrote) thereon (the record) of the might of Assur, my lord. In the province of Bahianu (?) of Bît-Ishtar I set it up. Upash, son of Kapsi, gathered his people together and went up into Mount Abirus. After him I went and smote him. His booty I carried off. His cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Ushuru of the city of Tadirruta, Bur-Dada of the city of Nirutakta, became frightened and took to the mountains. I went up after them, smote them, carried off their spoil. Bur-Dada I captured with my (own) hands. Their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Sibur, together with the cities of its environs, I captured. Its booty I carried off. Tanus—[1] . . . . . their booty . . . . . he gathered together and [took to] the mountains. . . . . The land Pu— . . . . . Mount Danu— . . . . . I went up after them, I smote them and carried off their spoil. Iautarshi[1] of . . . . . the rest of them, who had fled to the land of Amate, a district at the head of the Rûa Mountains, which . . . . . ⌜after them⌝ I marched and I smote them. I carried them off *en masse* (*lit.*, as one). The Kâr-Zibreans, ... they abandoned. I pursued them and in the midst of (their) march I fell upon them like rain from heaven (*lit.*, Adad, the Storm-god), ... and carried countless numbers of them off. Not one among them

[1] Personal name.

escaped or got up into the mountain. The people of Bît-ʿSangibutiʾ . . . . . had taken refuge [in Silhazi] . . . . of the Babylonians. I went up after them, I smote them and carried off their spoil . . . . . with fire I burned. Over against Silhazi, which they call a stronghold of the Babylonian(s), [I set up my royal imageʾ . . . . . .

775. [In the temple(?)] of the land of Til-Ashuri, I offered an arrow and pure sacrifices to Marduk who dwells in Til-Ashuri. The city of Nikku [of Tupliash] . . . . . the cities of Hista, Harabisina, Barbaz, Tasa, as far as the river Ulurush, I captured, I smote. 8,650 people . . . . . horses, 300 mules, 660 asses, 1,350 cattle, 19,000 sheep, I carried off. I destroyed, I devastated, I burned (those cities) with fire. . . . . their . . . . . I brought within the Assyrian border. Those cities I rebuilt; people from the lands my hands had conquered I settled therein. [The weapon of Assur, my lordʾ, I set up in them, and added them to the province of Na'iri. The cities of Daikansha, Sakka, Ippa, Elizanshu, Lukadansha, Kuda, Elugia, Dania, Danziun, Ulai, Lukia, Abrania (and) Eusa, [I captured], I smote. 900 people, 150 cattle, 1,000 sheep, horses, mules, asses, I carried off. ʿTheir citiesʾ I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

776. The people of the land of Mukania saw the approach of my army and the city of Ura which is in Musurni, ... their sons, their daughters, ʿtheir familiesʾ . . . . . [their fingers?] I cut off and ʿsent them (back)ʾ to their land . . . . . horses, mules, ... I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. . . . . I captured, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. . . . . I captured, I smote . . . . . I captured his warriors . . . . . I cut (them) down with the sword . . . . . before him . . . . . the charioteers, and . . . . . their weapons I shattered. . . . . their chariots, their horses I

seized . . . . . his fighters, who carried bows, ... who carried shield and spears, I captured with my (own) hands and [their battle line . . . . . I shattered]. That one fled alone to save his life and . . . . . like a mouse(?) he entered the gate of his city. His nobles I captured alive with my (own) hands and hung them on stakes and let his land gaze on them. 45(?) soldiers of my camp . . . . . for the . . . . . of his city I selected and like a bird in a cage I shut him up. His gardens . . . . . plantations, which were without number, I cut down, not one escaped. . . . . .

777. Hâdaru, the father's house of Resin of Aram (Syria), [where] he was born, I besieged, I captured. 800 people, together with their possessions . . . . . their cattle, their sheep, I carried off. 750 captives of the city of Kurussâ, ... captives of the city of Irmâ, 550 captives of the city of Metuna, I carried off. 591 cities . . . . . of 16 districts of Aram (Syria), I destroyed like mounds left by a flood.

778. . . . . . Samsi, queen of Arabia, who had violated the oath by Shamash, ... to the city of Ezasi . . . . . Arabia, in ⌜Saba'⌝ . . . . . [her people] in her camp. . . . . she was afraid . . . . . I imposed upon her . . . . . submitted at my feet . . . . . ⌜Sabeans⌝, ⌜Haiappeans⌝ . . . . . ⌜Hatteans⌝, [Idiba'ileans] . . . . . of the border of the lands of the setting sun . . . . . ⌜the glory⌝ of my majesty . . . . . gold, silver, ⌜camels⌝ . . . . . all kinds of ⌜herbs⌝, as their tribute [they brought before me, as one] . . . . . ⌜they kissed my feet . . . . . a palace, befitting my royalty, I built . . . . . Idibi'lu I appointed as overseer over . . . . . .

779. On my former campaign all of the cities . . . . . I counted . . . . . his . . . . I had carried off and Samerina (Samaria), ⌜he(?) left⌝ alone, ... their king . . . . . .

like a hurricane . . . . . province of Bît . . . . . captives of . . . . . —barâ, 625 captives of . . . . . captives of Hinatuna, 650 captives of Kana, ... captives of . . . . —atbite, 650 captives of Ir— . . . . . people together with their possessions [I carried off]. . . . . The cities of Aruma, Marum . . . . . [Mitinti] of Ashkelon, ⌜violated the oath sworn to me⌝, [against me he revolted. The defeat of] ⌜Resin⌝ he saw and [died] in a conflagration(?). [Rukibtu, son of Mitinti], I set upon his throne for . . . . . he barred and besought me, 500 . . . . . into his city I entered. 15 cities . . . . . Idibi'li (of) Arabia, ...

II. NIMRÛD SLAB INSCRIPTION

780. Probably the earliest extant of Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions is that on the slab from Nimrûd, now in the British Museum (basement, No. 616; 51-9-2,36), which is to be dated in, or soon after, 734 B.C. (text, Layard, *Inscriptions*, Plates 17 and 18; Rost, Plates XXXII, XXXIII).

781. Palace of Tiglath-pileser, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions (of the world); who is attentive to the beck (*lit.*, lifting of the eyes) of Enlil, the king who from the rising of the sun to the setting thereof has scattered (*lit.*, counted) all of his foes to the wind(s) and has maintained (his) sway; who subdues the peoples of the upper and the lower (land(s), who ousts their rulers and instals his (own) officials.

782. Since the beginning of my rule I have brought under my sway, beginning with Dûr-Kurigalzu, Sippar of Shamash (and) Pasitu of the Dunanu, (and going) as far as Nippur, the Itu' and the Rubu' (tribes), all of the Arameans (living) on the banks of the Tigris and Surapi, as far as the Uknû, by the shore of the lower sea. Above Til-Kamri, which they (also) call Humut, I built a city and called its name Kâr-

Assur. The people of the lands my hands had conquered I settled therein, I set my official over it.

783. Bît-Shilâni, in its entirety, I smashed like a pot. Sarrabânu, their great royal city, I destroyed (so that it was) like a ruin (left by) the flood. I carried off its plunder. Nabû-ushabshi, their king, I hung up in front of the gate of his city on a stake. His land, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his property, the treasure of his palace, I carried off. Bît-Amukkâni I trampled down like a threshing (sledge). All of its people, (and) its goods, I took to Assyria. I defeated the Pukudu, Ru'ua and Li'tau (tribes) and drove them from their districts (*lit.*, places),—the Arameans, all there were, I brought in submission to my feet and seized their kingly households (*lit.*, people of their king). Karduniash I brought under my sway. Upon the Ra'sâni (tribe) of Chaldea I laid tribute(?) and tax.

784. To Assur, Sheru'a, Bêl, Sarpanît, Nabû, Tashmêtu, Nanâ, lady of Babylon, Nergal (and) Laz, I offered pure sacrifices in Harsagkalama. The lands of Bît-Hamban, Sumurzu, Bît-Barrûa, Bît-Zualzash, Bît-Matti, the city of Niku of Tupliash, the lands of Til-Taranzai, Parsua, Bît-Kibsi, as far as the city of Zakruti of the mighty Medes, I brought under my sway. My two officials I set over them as governors. The gifts (tribute) of the chieftains of the Medes, —as far as Mount Bikni, I received.

785. Sardaurri, of Urartu, revolted against me and made common cause with Mati'-ilu. In Kishtan and Halpi, districts of Kummuhi (Commagene), I defeated him and took from him the whole of his camp. He became frightened at the fury of my arms and ran away, alone, to save his life. In Turushpâ, his city, I shut him up and slew many of his warriors before his (city's) gates. My royal image I set up in front of Turushpâ. A distance of 80(?) *bêru* (double-hours), I marched victoriously (*lit.*, heroically) through the wide

land of Urartu, from its upper to its lower (border), and found (*lit.*, had) none to oppose. The land of Ulluba, in its entirety, the cities of Kashtirru, Parisu, Tashuha, Mantupa(?), Sardaurri, together with (*or*, as far as) the cities of Galânanal, Sikibsa, Asurdaî, Babutta, Lusia (and) Bisia (*or*, Kassia), strongholds of Urartu, which are back of Mount Nal, I brought (*lit.*, turned) within the Assyrian border. In Ullaba I built a city and called its name Assur-ikîsha. My official I set over it as governor. The cities of Enu, Sassu, Lubdu, Lukia, Shimirra, Ushurnu, Uzurra(?), Auigash, Ubula, as far as Birdashu, the mountain, I added to the province of (my) *Rab-bi-lub*-official. The cities of Kuta, Urra, Arana, Taba, Uallia, up to the Euphrates River, (which is) the boundary of Kummuhi, Kilissa, Ezieda, ⌜Diuabli⌝, Abbissa, Harbisinna, [Barbaz], Tasa, Enzi, Anganu, Benzu, strongholds of Urartu, the ⌜Kallania⌝, his river, I captured (and) brought them within the Assyrian border. To the province of the Turtan and the province of Na'iri I added (them).

III. LATER INSCRIPTIONS CONTAINING HISTORICAL SECTIONS

786. On the upper half of a large clay tablet, from Nimrûd (British Museum, K 3751), are preserved the beginning (Obv.) and end (Rev.) of a long building inscription, the historical section of which contained a résumé of the first seventeen years of Tiglath-pileser's reign. The text is published in IIR, 67. Similar but more condensed résumés of the same period are found in another broken tablet from Nimrûd (British Museum, DT.3), published in Rost, Plate XXXIV) and on a slab found on the same site (text, from squeezes, in Rost, Plates XXIX–XXXI). Two other texts from squeezes are published in IIIR, 10, Nos. 2 and 3. The first is a portion of an annals inscription, the second, a list of cities.

1. Nimrûd Tablet (date 728 B.C.)

787. Palace of Tiglath-pileser, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions (of the

world); the brave hero, who, with the help of Assur, his lord, smashed all who did not obey him, like pots, and laid them low, like a hurricane, scattering (them) to the wind(s); the king, who, advancing in the name of Assur, Shamash and Marduk, the great gods, brought under his sway the lands from the Bitter Sea of Bît-Iakin to Mount Bikni, of the rising sun, and (to) the sea of the setting sun, as far as Egypt,—from the horizon to the zenith, and exercised kingship over them.

788. From the beginning of my rule, to the seventeenth year of my reign, the (tribes of) Itu', Rubu', Hamarani, Luhûatu, Harilu, Rubbû, Rapiku, Hirânu, Rabilu, Nasiru, Gulusu, Nabatu, Rahiku, Ka—, . . , Rummulutu, Adilê, Kiprê, Ubudu, Gurumu, Bagdadu, Hindiru, Damunu, Dunanu, Nilku, Radê, Da . . . . , Ubulu, Karma', Amlatu, Ru'a, Kabi', Li'tâu, Marusu, Amatu, Hagarânu, (the cities of) Dûr-Kurigalzu, Adidu(?), the strongholds of Sarragiti, of Labbanat, of Kâr-bêl-mâtâti,—all of the Arameans of the banks of the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Surappi, even to the Uknû, by the shore of the lower sea (Persian Gulf), I conquered, many of them I slew, I carried off their spoil. The Arameans, as many as there were, I brought within the border of Assyria and set my official over them as governor. Above Til-Kamri, which they also called Humut, I built a city and called its name Kâr-Assur. People of the lands my hands had conquered, I settled therein. In Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa, Kutha, Kish, Dilbat, and Erech, unrivaled metropolises, I offered pure (holy) sacrifices to Bêl, Sarpanit, Nabû, Tashmetu, Nergal, and Laz, the great gods, my lords, and they accepted (*lit.*, loved) my priesthood. The wide land of Karduniash (Babylonia), to its farthest border, I brought under my sway and exercised sovereignty over it.

789. The Pukudu I brought low as with a net. Many of them I slew; great quantities of their spoil I carried off. This

(tribe of) Pukudu and the city of Lahiru of Idibirîna, the cities of Hilimmu (and) Pillutu, which are on the border of Elam, I brought inside the Assyrian border and placed (*lit.*, counted) them under the authority (hand) of my official, the viceroy of Arrapha. All (the people) there were of the land of Labdudu I deported and settled in Assyria. The whole of Chaldea I brought low as with a snare. Many (of the men) of Nabû-ushabshi, son of Shilâni, I slew by the side of Sarrabâni, his city. And him I hung up on a stake before the gate of his city for his land to gaze upon. Sarrabâni I took by means of earthworks [and siege engines]. 55,000 of its people, together with their possessions, his spoil, his property and goods, his wife, his sons and his daughters, and his gods, I carried off. That city, together with the towns of its neighborhood, ⌜I destroyed, I devastated, I burned⌝ with fire. To mounds and ruins I turned it.

790. The cities of Tarbasu (and) Iaballu, I captured. 30,000 of (their) people, together with their possessions, their property, their goods and their gods, ⌜I carried off. Those cities⌝, together with the towns of their neighborhood, I destroyed (so that they were) like mounds (left by) the flood. Zakiru, son of Sha'alli, ⌜violated (*lit.*, sinned against) the oath sworn by the great gods⌝ and [made common cause] with [my foes]. Him, together with his nobles, my hand seized. Iron fetters I laid upon them and brought them to Assyria. The people of the land of Bît-Sha'alli became frightened and made Dûr-[Illatai], their . . . . their fortress. That city I captured by means of tunnels(?) and siege engines, and made it like (the level) earth. 40,500 of its people, together with their possessions, their spoil, their property and goods, his wife, his sons, his daughters (and) his gods, I carried off.

791. The city of Amlilatu I captured. The people, together with their possessions, his spoil, his property (and) his goods, I carried off. Bît-Sha'alli I devastated like a flood,

to its farthest border, and laid waste its settlements. These lands I brought inside the Assyrian border.

792. Kîn-zêr, son of Amukkâni, I shut up in Sapie, his royal city. Many (of his people) I slew in front of his (city) gate. The mulberry(?) groves which were (planted) along his (city) walls, I cut down; not one was left (*lit.*, escaped). The date-palms within the confines of his land I destroyed. His ——— I cut off(?) and filled the fields (with them, *or*, it). All of his cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Bît-Shilâni, Bît-Amukkâni and Bît-Sha'alli, I destroyed in their entirety (so that they were) like mounds (left by) the flood,—to mounds and ruins I turned them.

793. The tribute of Balasu, son of Dakkuri and Nadini of Larak,—silver, gold, precious stones, I received.

794. Merodach-baladan, son of Iakina, king of the sea-(land), who had not come before (*i.e.*, submitted to) any of the kings, my fathers, and had not kissed their feet, the terror of the awful splendor of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed him and he came to the city of Sapia, into my presence, and kissed my feet. Gold, the dust of his mountain(s), in great quantity, articles of gold, golden necklaces(?), precious stones, the products of the sea, logs of ⌜maple⌝ and *ellutu*-wood, *LAL*- and *LU-a-nu*-plants, colored garments, all kinds of herbs, cattle and sheep, I received as his tribute.

795. The lands of Namri, Bît-Sangibuti, Bît-Hamban, Sumurzu, Barrua, Bît-Zualzash, Bît-Matti, the city of Niku of Tupliash (land), Bît-Taranzai, Parsua, Bît-Zatti, Bît-Abdadani, Bît-Kabsi, Bît-Sangi, Bît-Tazzakki, Bît-Ishtar, Zakruti, Gizinikissi, Nishshâ, the cities of Sibur and Urimzan, the lands of Ra'usan, ⌜Niparia⌝, Bustus, Ariarmi, Tarlugalê(?), Saksukni, Arakuttu, Kar-Zibra, Gukinnana, Bît-Sakbat, Silhazi, which they call the fortress of the Babylonian(s), the land of Rû(a), as far as the alkali desert, the lands of Ushkakkâna, Shikraki, (the land) of gold, provinces

of the mighty Medes, I overpowered (*lit.*, covered) as with a net, to their farthest border. I slew large numbers (of their inhabitants). 65,000 people, together with their possessions, their horses, their mules, their (Bactrian) camels, their cattle (and) their sheep, in countless numbers, I carried off. Their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Into mounds and ruins I turned them. The lands of Namri, Bît-Sangibuti, Bît-Hamban, Sumurzu, Bît-Barrua, Bît-Zualzash, Bît-Matti, the city of Niku of Tupliash, Bît-Taranzai, Parsua, Bît-Zatti, Bît-Abdadani, Bît-Kapsi, Bît-Sangi, Bît-Tazzakki, Bît-Ishtar, [the city of Zakruti], of the mighty Medes, I brought inside the Assyrian border. The cities in these (districts) I rebuilt. The weapon[1] of Assur, my lord, I established therein. People of the lands my hands had conquered I settled in them. My official I set over them as governor. My royal image I set up in the land of Tikrakki, the cities of Bît-Ishtar (and) Sibur, the lands of Ariarmi, Tar-lugalê, [and the city of Silhazi], which they call the fortress of the Babylonian(s). The tribute of the [land of the Medes], the Ellipi and the chieftains of all of their mountain (districts), as far as Mount Bikni [in the east],—horses, mules, (Bactrian) camels, cattle and sheep, [I received]. . . . . ⌜heard⌝ of the glorious valor of Assur, my lord, which ⌜I had displayed (*lit.*, exercised)⌝ in all of their mountain (districts). The awe-inspiring splendor of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed him, to Dûr-Tukulti-apal-esharra, ... he came, into my presence, he kissed [my feet. Horses], mules, cattle and sheep, weapons of war . . . . . [I received as his tribute]. ⌜My official⌝ Assur-daninani I dispatched to the land of the mighty Medes of the east. . . . . .

796. [The lands of Ulluba] and Kirhu I conquered in their entirety. ⌜I brought (them)⌝ inside the Assyrian border.

[1] In the sense of symbol; that is, the cult of Assur.

. . . . . [A palace for my royal residence] I built therein. The weapon of Assur, my lord, I set up in it.

797. [Sarduarri of Urartu], Sulumal of Melid (Melitene) Tarhulara [of Gurgum] . . . . . Kushtashpi of Kummuhu, to capture and plunder . . . . . between Kishtan and Halpi, districts of [Kummuhu], ... them. The river Sinzi I dyed red like wool . . . . . their . . . . . I took away from them. In the midst . . . . . his royal bed . . . . . .

798. (*Rev.*) . . . . . her . . . . . [she brought] before me. [An overseer I set over her. The Bir'ai I brought in submission to my feet].

799. The [Mas'ai], Temai, Sab'ai, Haiapai, Badanai, ... [on the border of the lands of the setting sun], whom no one knew, and whose home (*lit.*, place) is afar off,—they heard of the glory of my majesty . . . . . camels, female camels, all kinds of herbs, their tribute, [they brought before] me, with one accord, [and kissed my feet].

800. Idi-bi'ili I set up as overseer on the Egyptian frontier (*lit.*, toward Egypt). In all of the lands of . . . . . .

801. The tribute of Kushtashpi of Kummuhu, Urik of Kûe, Sibitti-bi'il [of Gubla] . . . . . [Eni]-ilu of Hamath, Panammû of Sam'al, Tarhulara of Gurgum, [Sulumal of Melid] . . . . . Uassurme of Tabal, Ushhitti of Tunai, Urballâ of Tuhan, [Tuhamme of Ishtunda] . . . . . [Matan]-bi'il of Arvad, Sanibu of Beth-Ammon, Salamanu of Moab, ... [Mitinti] of Ashkelon. Iauhazi (Jehoahaz) of Judah, Kaush-malaku of Edom, [Musri] . . . . . Hânûnu (Hanno) of Gaza,—gold, silver, lead, iron, tin, brightly colored (woolen) garments, linen, the purple garments of their land(s), ... all kinds of costly things, the

products of the sea and the dry land, the commodities of their land, the royal treasure, horses, mules, broken to the yoke, ... [I received].

802. Uassurme of Tabal was indifferent toward Assyria's achievements and did not come into my presence. My official the *Rab-*[*shakû*] . . . . . [I dispatched]. Hullî, son of a nobody, I set upon his royal throne. 10 talents of gold, 1,000 talents of silver, 2,000 horses . . . . . [I received].

803. My official, the *Rab-shakû*, I sent to Tyre. From Mêtenna of Tyre I received 150 talents of gold. . . . . .

804. With the keen understanding and grasp of intellect with which the Master of the gods, the prince Nudimmut (Ea) endowed me, a palace of cedar . . . . . and a portico (*bît-hitlanni*) patterned after a Hittite (Syrian) palace, for my enjoyment, I built in Calah (Kalhi) . . . . . The area (*lit.*, survey) of the site (*lit.*, ground), which was (to be) greater than (that) of the earlier palaces of my fathers, I enlarged(?) from out of the Tigris.[1] . . . . . All the skilled artisans I shrewdly used to the best advantage . . . . . from 20 great cubits below the (level) of the raging waters (of the Tigris) I heaped up mighty limestone bowlders,—as the mountain is heaped up, and . . . . . [right and left] . . . . . Their (the palaces') terrace I constructed, laid their foundations, and raised on high their towers (*lit.*, heads). $\frac{1}{2}$ *GAR*, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a cubit, the house . . . . . [I constructed]. I made (it) face the north. Their (the palaces') doorways, of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar . . . . . juniper,—tribute of the Hittite (Syrian) kings, of the princes of the Arameans and of Chaldea, which I brought in submission to my feet through my valorous heroism, [I made and I richly] adorned them. (To a height of) $5\frac{1}{2}$ *GAR*, 4 cubits, from the water level to the topmost (pinnacle), I carried through their construction. I put more work upon

[1] By encroaching upon the river flats.

them (than was put) on (any) of the palaces of (other) lands. With long (*lit.*, tall) cedar beams, whose fragrance is as good as that of the cypress tree, products of Amanus, Lebanon and Ammanana (Anti-Lebanon), I roofed them over, and brought (them) to faultless completion. To set forth the splendor (thereof), of . . . . . and stone, the work of the stone-cutter, I fashioned and adorned the door(ways). The door-leaves of cedar and cypress, which give unbounded joy to the one entering them (and) whose odor penetrates (?) to the heart, I bound with a sheathing of shining *zahalû* and ⟨*sariru*⟩ and hung (them) in the door(ways). Lion-colossi and bull-colossi, whose members were most skilfully wrought and which were clothed with exuberant splendor, I placed at the entrances and set them up as (objects) of astonishment (to the people). Slabs of gypsum, of alabaster, I placed under them and (so) made the exits splendid. And I surrounded the sides with stone carvings—as a protection—of the great gods, the creatures of the deep (*apsû*), and made them fear-inspiring. Clothes-hooks of gold, silver and copper I put up all around them (the palaces), to make them complete(ly equipped), and (so) I made their appearance beautiful (*lit.*, brilliant). For my royal abode, a sun-chamber(?) of precious stones, the work of . . . . . I built therein. "Palaces of Rejoicing," "Bringing Prosperity," "Blessing the King," "Causing Their Builder ⌜to Grow Old⌝" (*i.e.*, have length of days),—thus I named their names. "Gates of Justice," "Carrying Out the Justice of the Princes of the Four Regions," ". . . . . the Tribute of Lands and Seas," "Bringing in the Products of the Towns before the King, Their Lord," —so I called the names of their gates.

2. Second Nimrûd Tablet (DT, 3)

805. [From the beginning[1] of my rule to the seventeenth year of my reign, the (tribes of) Itu', Rubu', Hamaranu,

Luhûatu, Harilu, Rubbu, [Rapiku¹, Nabatu, Gurumu, Dunanu, Ubulu, Ru'ua, Li'tâu, Marusu, (the cities of) Dûr-Kurigalzu, Adida, the strongholds of Sarragiti and of Labnat, —the Arameans, all of them, who (live) on the banks of the Tigris, Euphrates, ⌜Surappi¹ and Uknû, as far as the lower sea of the rising sun, I conquered, inside the border of Assyria I brought (them). My [official] I set over them as governor. In Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa, Kutha, Kish, Dilbat, Erech, unrivaled metropolises, I offered holy (pure) sacrifices to Bêl, Sarpanit, Nabû, Tashmetu, Nergal (and) Laz, the great gods, my lords, and presented (them) with gifts. The wide land of Karduniash (Babylonia) I brought under my sway and exercised sovereignty over it.

806. Sarrabani (and) Bît-Sa'alli I laid waste (*lit.*, tore up) to their farthest borders. Nabû-ushabshi (and) Zakiru, their kings, my hands captured. . . . Tarbasu, Iaballa, Dûr-Illatai, Malilatu, their great royal cities, I captured by means of earthworks and siege engines. 154,000 people, together with their possessions, ... their . . . . . and their grazing herds(?), I carried off in countless numbers. Those lands I brought within the Assyrian border. . . . . . like pots I smashed, and all of its people I brought to Assyria. Kîn-zêr, their king, I shut up in Sapia, his city . . . . . of Elam I brought within the Assyrian border and put them under my official, the governor of Arbaha (Arapha). [The tribute of . . . .] of Chaldea, of Balasu, son of Dakkuru, Nadinu of Larak. . . . . of royalty, gold, the dust of his mountain(s), silver, precious stones, maple and *elutu*-wood, cattle (and) sheep [I received].

807. [Namri], Bît-Hamban, Sumurzu, Bît-Barrua, Bît-⌜Zualzash¹, ...

3. Second Nimrûd Slab (date, 728 B.C.)

808. Palace of Tiglath-pileser, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions (of the world), attentive to the beck of the god Bêl.

809. From the beginning of my rule to my seventeenth year of reign, (the tribes of) the Itu', Rubu', Hamarani, Luhûatu, Nabatu, Hindiru, Ru'ua, Li'tâu, Marusu, Pukudu, —Arameans, all there were on the bank(s) of the Tigris (and) the Euphrates, the Surappu and the Uknû, as far as the lower sea of the rising sun, I captured, within the border of Assyria I brought (them). My official I set over them as governor.

810. The lands of Bît-Silâni (and) Bît-Sa'alli I trampled down like a threshing(-sledge). Their people my hand captured. Sarrabânu (and) Dûr-Illatai, their great cities, I destroyed (so that they were) like mounds. Their [people] I carried off to Assyria. I entered Babylon, [holy (pure) sacrifices] I offered before Marduk, my lord. Karduniash I brought under my sway.

811. Upon the Ra'sani (tribe) of Chaldea I imposed tribute and tax. The lands of Bît-Hamban, Bît-Sumurzu, Bît-Barrua, Bît-Zualzash, Bît-Matti, the city of Niku (of) Tupliash, the lands of Bît-Taranzai, Parsua, Bît-Kipsi, the cities of Zakruti, Bît-Ishtar, Nishai, the land of Gizinkissi, the cities of Sibur, Urenna, Niparia, the lands of Bustus, Ariarma, Tar-lugalê, Rûa, the mountain, as far as the salt (alkali) desert, the lands of Ushkakan, Shikraki, Til-Ashuri, which is a fortress of the Babylonian(s), —these I brought within the Assyrian border. My official I set over them as governor.

812. The tribute of all the mountain chieftains, as far as Mount Biknî, I received. My official, Assur-daninanni, I sent against the powerful Medes of the east. 5,000 horses, people, cattle and sheep, without number, he carried off.

813. Sarduri of Urartu revolted against me and made common cause with Mati'-ilu, son of Agussi. Between Kishtan and Halpi, districts of Kummuhu, I defeated him. The whole of his camp I took from him. He became frightened at the awful brilliance of my arms and to save his life mounted a mare and escaped to Mount Sibak, a steep mountain, at night, and ascended it. Sarduari of Urartu I shut up in his city Turushpâ. Large numbers (of his men) I slew in front of the gate of his city. My royal image I fashioned and set it up before Turushpâ. A stretch of 60 *bêru* (double-hours) I advanced victoriously through the wide Urartu, from north to south, and found none to oppose.

814. The lands of Ulluba (and) Kirhu, which are at the foot of Mount Nala, in their (*text*, its) totality, I conquered and brought them within the border of Assyria. My royal image I set up in the land of Ilimmer. Inside the border of Ulluba I built a city. Its name I called Assur-ikîsha. People of the lands my hands had conquered I settled therein. My official I set over them as governor.

4. Fragmentary Annals Text (IIIR, 10, No. 2; Rost, op. cit., Plates XXV–XXVI)

815. . . . . the city of Hatarikka, up to Mount Saua . . . . . the cities of Gubla (Gebail), Simirra, Arkâ, Zimarra, ... the cities of Usnu, Sianu, Ri'a-rabâ, Ri'a-sisû . . . . . the cities of the upper sea, I brought under my sway. Six of my officials as governors I set over them. The city of Rashpûna, which is on the shore of the upper sea, ... the cities of . . .—nite, Gala'za(?), Abilakka, which are on the border of Bît-Humria (House of Omri, Izrael) . . . . . the wide land of Naphtali, in its entirety, I brought within the border of Assyria. My official I set over them as governor. Hanûnû (Hanno) of Gaza fled before my weapons and escaped to Egypt. The city of Gaza I cap-

tured, his goods, his possessions, his gods I carried off. My stele(?) and my royal image I had them fashion, in the midst of his palace I set them up. I counted them as gods of his land. . . . . I established them. As for Menahem(?), terror overwhelmed him, like a bird, alone he fled and submitted to me. To his place I brought him back and . . . . . silver, colored (woolen) garments, linen garments . . . . . great . . . . . I received (as his tribute).

816. The land of Bît-Humria . . . . . all of its people, together with their goods I carried off to Assyria. Pakaha, their king they deposed and I placed Ausi' (Hoshea) over them as king. 10 talents of gold, x talents of silver, as their tribute I received from them and to Assyria I carried them.

817. Of Samsi, queen of Arabia, on a desert field (of battle), the warriors I slew. 1,100 people, 30,000 camels, 20,000 cattle, ... 5,000 (bundles?) of all kinds of spices, 11 jars of the property of her gods, ... her possessions, I took from her, and she, to save her life, to the city of Bazu(?), a place of thirst, like a jenny, she fled . . . . . hunger overcoming(?) the people of her camp . . . . . before my mighty weapons she became terrified and camels and female camels . . . . . before me she brought. A (political) agent (overseer) I set over her.

818. The Bir'ai I brought in submission to my feet. The Mes'eans the Temeans, the Sab'eans, the Haiappeans, the Badaneans, the Hatteans, the Idiba'ileans . . . . . which are on the border of the lands of the setting sun, whom no one knew of, and whose abode (place) is afar off,—the glory of my majesty . . . . . my majesty, gold, silver, camels, female camels, all kinds of spices as their tribute, with one accord they brought before me and they kissed my feet.

819. Idi-bi'ilu I appointed to be agent (overseer) in Egypt (Musri). The weapon of Assur I set up therein. . . . . .

An image of my royal self I made and set it up there, as a fitting (monument) of the power and might, which in the name of Assur, my lord, I established over the lands. . . . . .

I marched to and fro and . . . . . .

5. List of Cities (IIIR, 10, No. 2; Rost, op. cit., Plate XXVII)

820. Kukusanshu, ——an, ——arisa, ——anu, ... , Urmushe, ... Elizanshu, Daikanshu, —ta-anshu, —esanshu, cities on the sea of . . . . . ; Lukan-dashu, ——Tuarizu, ... , ——nishtu, ... Lubsua, Danziun . . . . . ———mesai, ... , Izzi-da, Mount Birdâsha, ... ——zinia, ... ——huli, ... , ——liansha, ... , Parîsu, cities of the land of Enzi and the land of Urartu.

821. . . . . Arpadda, Haurâni, ... , Hazazu, Aribua, Nirabu, Ka——, Tukâ, ———mâ, Saruna, ——ta——, Dinanu, [Kaprabi,][1] cities of Bît-Adini, Ta—ri, ... Hurmu, Anlama—, Urrus, Ur——, Kulmadara, Ha——, Unnigâ, ... Ardâ, Mudru(?), Murûa, Tiris-sa, Lapsitania, cities of the land of Unki; Hatarikka, Gubla, Simirra, Arkâ, Usnû, Sianu, Ri'a-sisû, Ri'a-rabâ,[1] Arâ, (the land of) Nukudina, Ashani, Iadabi, Ellitarbi, Zitânu, Tunu, ... cities of the land of Hamath; Lab'u, ...

IV. MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

822. Inscribed bricks, a stone inscription and an inscribed duck weight, containing the name and titles of Tiglath-pileser, were found at Kalat Sherkat. On the brick inscription Tiglath-pileser is called "son of Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria." Whether this is a bit of fiction or whether we err in ascribing these texts to Tiglath-Pileser III is still to be determined. The texts are published in *KAH*, I, Nos. 21–23.

1. Palace of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, son of Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria. (Brick) belonging to the floor of the temple of Assur.

[1] Note the names compounded with Ri'a the Egyptian Rê (sun-god).

2. Palace of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, (slab) from the *urkarinu*(boxwood)-house.

3. Palace of Tiglath-pileser, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

V. STELE OF BÊL-HARRAN-BÊL-USUR

823. The inscription on an alabaster stele, discovered in 1894 at Tell Abta, west of Mosul, and now in the Constantinople Museum, throws an interesting light upon the unsettled period preceding the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. Bêl-harran-bêl-usur, successively high chamberlain under Shalmaneser IV and Tiglath-pileser, founded a city in the desert, west of Nineveh, built a temple, and endowed its cult. And this official, not his royal masters, established the freedom of this city from certain taxes and dues!

Text published by Scheil, *RT*, XVI, 176 ff., and republished by Unger, *Die Stele des Bel-Harran-beli-ussur*.

824. Marduk, the great lord, king of the gods, who holds the cord(?) of heaven and earth, founder of cities, builder of metropolises, guardian of all the shrines of the gods; Nabû, scribe of the gods, who grasps the shining stylus, who holds the tablet of destiny of the gods, leader of the Igigi and Anunnaki, dispenser of food, giver of life; Shamash, light of the lands, judge of all cities, (protecting) shadow of the (four) regions (of the earth); Sin, light-bearer(?) of heaven and earth, bearer of the lofty horns, who is clothed in splendor; shining goddess (Ishtar) of the stars, Inninna, to whom it is good to turn, who receives prayer; the great gods, in their totality, who hear his petitions, his helpers, his lords, me, Bêl-harrân-bêl-usur, the major-domo of Tiglath-pileser (*written over* Shalmaneser),[1] king of Assyria, who fears the great gods, they have sent and,—the mighty lords, at their exalted word (command) and by their sure grace, I founded a city in the desert, in a waste. From its foundation to its top I completed it. A temple I built and I placed a shrine for the

[1] This important discovery of Unger's shows that Bêl-harran-bêl-assur served successively under Shalmaneser IV and Tiglath-pileser III.

great gods therein. Its foundation platform I made firm as the mountains are set down (*lit.*, poured out), I established its foundation (walls) for all eternity. Dûr-Bêl-harrân-bêl-usur I called its name,—in the mouth of the people, and I opened up a road to it. I inscribed a stele, the images of the gods I fashioned on it, in the divine dwelling place I set it up. A living (*lit.*, portion, estate), offerings, incense(-offerings) I established for these gods for all time.

825. Whatever later (prince), whose name Assur, Shamash, Nergal and Adad shall name for preferment (*lit.*, favor), who shall rule the land, let him restore the ruins of that city (and) temple, let not the living and offerings of these gods come to an end (cease).

826. The freedom of that city I have established. Its grain-levy shall not be taken, its straw shall not be taxed, its water (let) none drain off into another channel; boundary and boundary-stone let (none) destroy; the increase of cattle and sheep let (none) seize; on the people dwelling therein, let (none) impose feudal dues or taskwork; let none send out any other man to be over them, let none impose (military) service(?) upon them. And as for (this stele), do not remove it from its place, do not set it up in another place, do not bring it into a pesthouse (*or*, house of darkness), do not break it to pieces, do not cover it with dust, do not throw it into the water, do not burn it with fire, do not daub it with pitch, do not blot out the inscription. Then the gods whose names are written in (this) sculptured stele (*lit.*, stele of reliefs),—in warfare, battle and combat, (in) sickness, epidemic, plague (and) pestilence, when you raise your hands (in supplication), they will hear your prayer, they will come to your aid.

827. Whoever destroys my inscription and my name, may Assur, Shamash, Marduk and Adad, the great gods, into the endless future (*lit.*, the future of not being), have no mercy upon him.

B. Shalmaneser V

828. On a fragment of a small cylinder (British Museum, K. 38345) stands the only text we have from Shalmaneser V (see *AJSL*, XLI, 162 f.). The inscription is badly mutilated, but from the closing lines it is evident that we are dealing with a memorial cylinder placed in Ezida, Nabû's temple at Borsippa. The text is published in *CT*, XXXVII, Plate 23.

829. . . . . . who did not bow in submission at his feet . . . . . the mention of his name . . . . . his word(?) . . . . bringing . . . . hastily before him. . . . . those not obedient to my(?) command . . . that . . . . . he caused to be surrounded, surrounding the town. . . . . the god in whom he trusted . . . . . with his help not draw my(?) yoke. . . . . who carried off . . . . and was turning (them, it) to himself (his own use) . . . . . his word and the mention of his name they did not fear, and did not dread his rule. . . . . overflowed his land(?) and laid it low like a deluge. . . . . his own . . . . . fell upon him and his life was no more. . . . . I(?) carried off and brought to Assyria.

830. [I am Shalmaneser[1], the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four regions of the world, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, son of . . . . . , king of Assyria; most precious scion of Assyria, seed of royalty, of the eternal days. . . . . of Borsippa, whose site(?) had been damaged by the violence of the mighty floods. . . . . its damage I repaired and strengthened its structure.

. . . . . May Nabû look upon that temple with delight, ...

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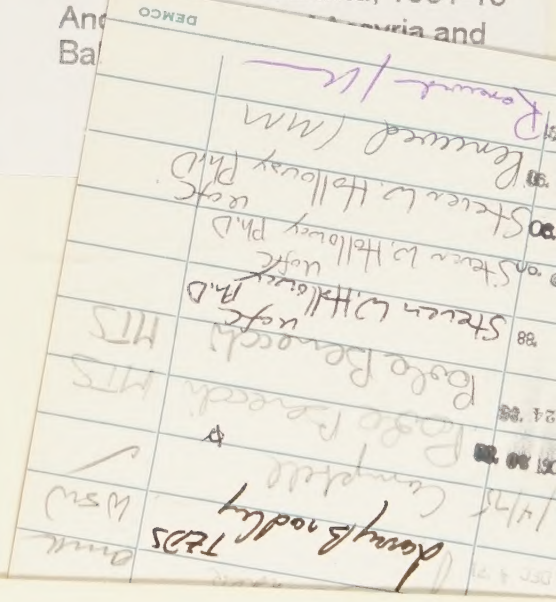

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